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Continental
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A Sociocultural Description of Small Communities in the Kodiak/Shumagin Region.

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ABSTRACT

This report presents baseline descriptive information on eleven villages located in the Kodiak-Shumagin region of the North Pacific. In 1985 approximately 1700 people lived in these coastal communities--500 on the Pacific Ocean (southeastern) side of the upper Alaska Peninsula in Ivanof Bay, Perryville, Chignik Lake, Chignik Lagoon, and Chignik Bay; and 1200 on or near Kodiak Island in Karluk, Larsen Bay, Akhiok, Old Harbor, Ouzinkie, and Port Lions.

The villages ranged in size from 51 residents at Ivanof Bay to 337 at Old Harbor. All the villages are physically isolated, although linked by year-round air transportation to other Alaskan communities and regional centers. They share a common ethnic and linguistic boundary, a similar sequence of historical influences, and a tradition of commercial fishing.

Field research was conducted in all of the villages between November 1984 and March 1985, with four visited a second time in May 1985. The length of the field visits ranged from two days at Ivanof Bay to six at Old Harbor. The research was conducted by one field worker, Nancy Yaw Davis, with additional data being gathered by local research assistants. In all, 97 focused discussions were held with 146 participants. Eleven topics were used as a framework, and additional information was gained beyond the chosen topics through informal discussion. The research assistants provided census counts, kinship, and other demographic data for 450 households. The information was analyzed to gain an understanding of contemporary conditions, variations, and directions of change in the eleven villages. The social and economic organization of each community was emphasized, with additional analysis of linkages between the villages undertaken when possible.

Dual residency is a marked pattern among the five Alaska Peninsula villages, but is less present in the Kodiak villages. A separate community forms each summer at Chignik Lagoon on the side where the Columbia Wards Fisheries processing plant is located. Social and kinship links are greater between the southern Kodiak Island villages and the Alaska Peninsula than between the southern and northern Kodiak villages. Major concerns at the local level include the cost of living, job availability, and social health.

Several traditional Koniag family patterns continue. They are reflected in examples of three generation households and the role of the mother's brother in the raising of his sister's sons. In four villages, over 50% of the adult males are single.

Local political organization ranges from inactive village councils to vigorous city government. At the time of the field research, villages were not very involved in regional Native corporation affairs. A number of leaders who played key roles in the 1970s dropped out of active political participation in the early 1980s. Increasing tension was developing over property rights, newcomers, trespassing, and the sale of land.

Villagers' involvement in jobs and the use of cash is well established, and increasing. Commitment to commercial fishing varies greatly. The number of winter residents holding purse seine limited entry fishing permits ranged from one in Karluk to 29 in Old Harbor. A total of 107 permit holders were resident in the winter of 1984-85. Canneries are located at or near 4 of the 11 villages: Chignik Bay, Chignik Lagoon, Larsen Bay, and Akhiok (Alitak).

In the 1970s some concern about OCS activities was evident in the Kodiak Island area; in the 1980s this has been replaced by concern about outdoor sportsmen and tourism. With a few exceptions, general support for and interest in oil and gas development was found throughout the study area.

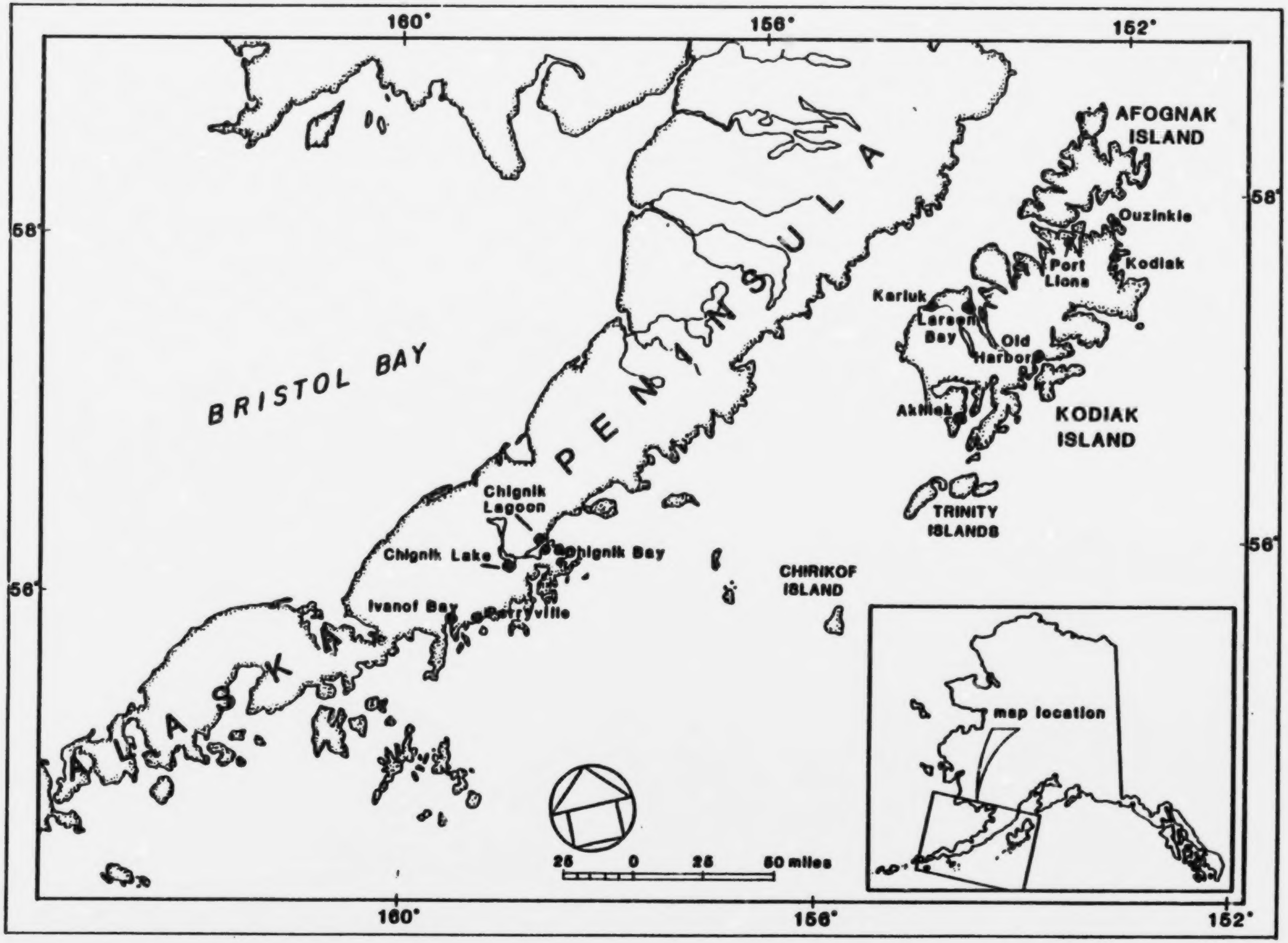
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several hundred village residents contributed to this research in different ways: as participants in the focused discussions, as research assistants, by housing the visiting researcher, and providing transportation by three-wheeler, truck and boat. In each village the hospitality, kindness, and interest in the research was impressive and greatly appreciated.

I cannot recognize every individual, but I will list alphabetically a few people from each village who shared time, ideas, and resources. These persons and many of their relatives and friends contributed to my education and their names give rise to warm thoughts of appreciation: Dora Aga, Marlene Aga, Stella and Miney Agnot, Trudy and Brian Aklin, Nancy Alexandroff, Billy and Annie Anderson, Lena and Wilbert Anderson, Nina Anderson, Dora Lind Andre, Barbara Boskofsky, Harolyn and Don Bumpus, Frank Carlson, Zack Chichenoff, Clyda and Charles Christensen, Emil Christiansen, Phyllis and Glen Clough, Martha Delgado, Robert DeGracia, Jennie and Walt Erickson, Darrel Gray, Herman and Faye Haakanson, Sven and Mary Haakanson, Robbie Hoedel, Darlene and Jimmy Johnson, Father Harry and Jennie Kaiakokonok, Olga Kalmakoff, Elizabeth Peterson Kalmakoff, Ignatius and Frieda Kosbruk, Betty Kursh, Betty Lind, Fred Lind III, Lola Lind, Betty Lukin, Larry and Martha Matfay, Tina Monigold, Evelyn Mullan, Tania Malutin, Bobby Nelson, Allen and Barbara Panamaroff, Katherine Chichenoff Panamarioff, Martha and Alec Pedersen, Annie Pestrikoff, Julia and John Pestrikoff, Ephrazinnia Peterson, Elia and Mary Phillips, Gordon Pullar, Olga and Mike Sam, Dennis and Leora Shangin, Dora Odomin Shangin, Effie Shangin, Jessie Sheehan, Olga Alexandroff Simeonoff, Edna Shangin Smith, Marie McCormick Squartsoff, Theodore Squartsoff, Frank and Diane Tague, Afonie and Annie Takak, Sheila Aga Theriault, Audrey and George Tinker, Christine Von Sheele, David Wakefield, Eric Ward, Jack and Anna Wickbelle, and Marlene Worchester.

Second, I hope I have contributed back to the eleven villages, their residents, and their history, by conscientiously reviewing hundreds of pages of notes and reporting what I found. The village residents were honest with me, and I owe them the integrity of my analysis. When the lease sales off the Kodiak area were postponed I was fortunate because the Minerals Management Service, the contracting agency, allowed extra time to devote to this project. Perhaps the best way I can thank the communities is by contributing the extra effort and time it has taken to bring this report as far as I could under the constraints that are inevitably a part of this kind of work. At the start, I did not intend to write a village narrative for each community, but each one is so unique that there was, ultimately, no alternative.

A number of people in Anchorage also contributed to the research. Members of the team assembled for the overall contract--all contributors to the companion volume of economic and social analysis (Technical Report No. 122)--kept me on my intellectual toes by their interest in my work and by their perceptive questions: P.J. Hill, Lee Huskey, Richard Krause, Steve Langdon, Dona Lehr, Darcy Lockhart, and Jim Payne. Karen Gibson, of the Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program, served as the contracting officer's representative for the Minerals Management Service. Finally, Bill Davis, the co-manager of the project, has patiently, thoroughly and kindly edited this entire manuscript.


160°
156°
152°
58°
56°
AFOGNAK ISLAND
Ouzinkie
Port Lions
Kodiak
Karluk
Larsen Bay
Old Harbor
Akhiok
KODIAK ISLAND
TRINITY ISLANDS
CHIRIKOF ISLAND
BRISTOL BAY
ALASKA PENINSULA
Chignik Lagoon
Chignik Lake
Chignik Bay
Ivanof Bay
Perryville
25
0
25
50 miles
map location

Cultural Dynamics 1986

FIGURE 1. THE STUDY AREA

viii

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A
SOCIOCULTURAL DESCRIPTION
OF
SMALL COMMUNITIES
IN THE
KODIAK-SHUMAGIN REGION

Prepared for

MINERALS MANAGEMENT SERVICE
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IX

NOTICE

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A Sociocultural Description of Small Communities in the Kodiak-Shumagin Region.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This volume provides a baseline description of eleven villages located in the Kodiak/Shumagin region of the North Pacific; it was prepared under contract with the Minerals Management Service (MMS), U.S. Department of the Interior. In 1985 approximately 1700 people lived in the coastal communities of the study area. Five hundred lived in five villages on the Pacific Ocean (southeastern) side of the middle Alaska Peninsula: Ivanof Bay, Perryville, Chignik Lake, Chignik Lagoon, and Chignik Bay. About 1200 were residents of the six villages on or near Kodiak Island: Karluk, Larsen Bay, Akhiok, Old Harbor, Ouzinkie and Port Lions. The communities ranged in size from 51 individuals at Ivanof Bay to 337 at Old Harbor. All are physically isolated, although linked by year-round air transportation to other Alaskan villages and regional centers. They share a tradition of commercial fishing, but the level of participation varies importantly from one village to another.

The descriptions are organized into two major sections: the Chignik villages, followed by those on Kodiak Island. The Chignik villages are grouped by geographical proximity and are placed in two subregions: first those farthest west, Ivanof Bay, Perryville and Chignik Lake. These villages are linked by kinship and by a pattern of summer migration to the Bay and Lagoon. Chignik Lagoon and Chignik Bay are predominantly mixed communities with a long history as centers for salmon processing; they are the location of in-migration and much fishing activity during the summer months. The Kodiak communities are arranged into three sets of two villages each. Although each village is historically and economically unique, there are a number of social and kinship links between the pairs that are also closest physically. The order of presentation is from south to north: Karluk and Larsen Bay, Akhiok and Old Harbor, Ouzinkie and Port Lions.

The same general format is used for each descriptive section: an introduction to the village includes a brief sketch of history and information about the field visits; then selected aspects of social, political and economic organizations are presented, followed by a summary reviewing directions of change and perspectives on outer continental shelf (OCS) oil and gas exploration and development.

Major Findings

Briefly summarized here, and documented in the main report, are some key findings that emphasize the factors most important to an understanding of contemporary conditions, variations, and directions of change. In the main report, details are given to provide a greater knowledge of the social and economic organization of each community, with some reference to the linkages of the villages to each other. With this baseline information, later studies on change can be undertaken and the likely effects of future oil and gas exploration and development can be more accurately assessed, predicted, and, if necessary, mitigated.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

- Dual residency is a marked pattern among the five Alaska Peninsula villages.

- A separate community forms each summer at Chignik Lagoon on the side where the Columbia Wards Fisheries processing plant is located.

- Social and kinship links appear greater between the southern Kodiak Island villages and the Alaska Peninsula, and between Chignik and Kodiak City, than between the southern and northern Kodiak villages.

- Several traditional family patterns continue, especially in the southern Kodiak villages. They are reflected in examples of three generation households and the role of the mother's brother in the raising of his sister's sons.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

- Local political organization ranged from inactive village councils to vigorous city governments.

- None of the villages were actively involved in regional Native corporation affairs.

- Increasing tension was developing over property rights, newcomers, trespassing, and the sale of land.

- A number of village leaders who played key roles in the 1970s had dropped out of active political participation in the early 1980s.

- The distribution of village corporation shareholders' addresses indicated that 39% of the shareholders actually live in the villages in which they are enrolled; 47% of the Chignik enrollees live in the Bristol Bay Region, 35% elsewhere in Alaska and 17% Outside; 65% of Kodiak village enrollees live in the Koniag Region, 15% elsewhere in Alaska and 20% Outside.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

- Villagers' involvement in jobs and the use of cash is well established, and is increasing with the growth of local jobs.

- The number of winter residents holding purse seine limited entry fishing permits ranged from one in Karluk to 29 in Old Harbor. The total number of village permit holders in the study area is 107.

- Canneries are located at or near 4 of the 11 villages: Chignik Bay, Chignik Lagoon, Larsen Bay, and Akhiok (Alitak).

- In some villages, non-Natives, who are recent in-migrants, appear especially active in subsistence endeavors like trapping, fishing and hunting.

- The 1970s concern in the Kodiak area about OCS activities seemed replaced by concern about outdoor sportsmen and tourism in the 1980s.

- With some exceptions, general support for and interest in oil and gas development was found in the study area. Some confusion between on-shore oil and gas development and OCS activities was noted in the Alaska Peninsula villages.

Methods of Analysis

The data gathered at the local level from residents of the eleven villages ultimately shaped this report. The descriptive information was organized in categories traditionally used for social, cultural and economic analysis. As a cautionary note, even though great effort was made to obtain both similar quality and quantity of information from each community, the data base is uneven. The constraints of time, funds, length of visits, size of community, the season of year, and even the sequence of village visits inherently shaped the data collection and entered new variables into the data mix. Because of these inevitable limitations, details about the visits to each community are provided to place the research in its context of time and place. This is not intended as an apology but to be realistic about the strengths and weaknesses of the field work methodology, the principal researcher, and the contents of the report.

FRAMEWORK FOR FIELD WORK

A total of six field trips were taken and 97 focused discussions held in the villages. Because the timing of the field research is important both in terms of local events and the sequence of understanding which has emerged, Table 1 has been prepared to identify the village, month, and number of days in the field. Briefly, all villages were visited between November 1984 and the end of March 1985. Four were visited a second time in May 1985. The length of a visit ranged from two days at Ivanof Bay to six at Old Harbor. All visits were made by one field worker, Nancy Yaw Davis. Details of the trips will be found with each village narrative, and in Appendix B.

Table 1.

FIELD RESEARCH TIME

Village	Dates	Days
Ivanof Bay	November 18-20, 1984	2
Perryville	November 20-23, 1984 & May 9-10, 1985	4
Chignik Lake	November 15-17, 1984 & May 3-5, 1985	5
Chignik Lagoon	November 17-18, 1984 & May 5-7, 1985	3
Chignik Bay	November 12-14, 1984 & May 7-8, 1985	4
Total days:		18
Karluk	February 6-9, 1985	3
Larsen Bay	February 3-6, 1985	3
Akhiok	March 24-26, 1985	2
Old Harbor	January 2-5, 1985 & March 22, 26-28, 1985	6
Ouzinkie	December 16-18, 1984	2
Port Lions	December 13-16, 1984	3
Total days:		19

Total research time in the villages: 37 days

The basic framework for accomplishing village research is described in detail elsewhere (Cultural Dynamics 1984; Davis & McNabb 1983:14-24; Davis 1979:18-26; 1976). For this study eleven topics were consistently used as guides for the discussions. Circumstances sometimes modified the sequence, as did the position and age of the persons involved. Much additional information was elicited far beyond the planned structure of the sessions. Sometimes the most insightful comments were made spontaneously, independent of the research format.

This flexibility of the methodology both contributed to the data collection and enhanced the new understandings that have emerged. If an excessively rigorous methodology had been imposed, perhaps more precise measures would have been gathered, but the overall regional perspectives could have been jeopardized. Also, because research in a small village is a personal exchange between individuals, between cultures, the quality and quantity of information is shaped by the experience and the personality directing and guiding the local discussions, and by local interest, trust and participation.

FIELD METHODS

Three components were emphasized in the field research: 1) demographic data gathered by local research assistants, 2) focused discussions on selected topics led by the principal investigator, and 3) secondary information from visits to village offices, schools, stores and the like. Additional insights were gained by attending special on-going events, such as an advisory school board meeting, a wrestling tournament, bingo games, or church services.

Here is a brief outline of the research sequence:

Each village visit was preceded by letters, copies of a cover sheet explaining the project, and telephone calls. The actual field time was short and intensive, involving a minimum of intrusion in local life. Follow-up thank you letters were sent to all participants, and draft copies of individual narratives were sent, per agreement, to each community for review and comment. All suggestions received were incorporated in the final report.

After arrival in a village, key persons were contacted and based on their advice, two to four research assistants were selected and hired. Maps had been prepared before the field trips from the village profiles (Alaska State Department of Community and Regional Affairs). These were used by the assistants to name and number each household. A notebook sheet for each house was numbered, initialed and dated. The assistants were instructed how to diagram the family relationships, as well as indicate names, birthdates and birthplaces. Depending on local interest and ideas, additional questions were formulated; these usually dealt with the number of three-wheeled vehicles, trucks, banyas (steam baths) and pets. Sometimes the village assistants added other data on their own initiative, such as who was visiting, or how long people had lived in the village.

After the field assistants began their work, the focused discussions were held under the leadership of the principal investigator. These talks ranged in length from 30 minutes to 3 hours; the number and nature of the participants is noted in each village narrative. Eleven topics served as a framework for the discussions; they flowed in a logical sequence, beginning with a question about village values: "What do you like best about living in this village?" A topic about favorite foods was followed by a query about what was eaten the night before. Next came discussion about summer and winter activities, which led to an assessment of fishing participation and local jobs. Perceptions on recent general village changes and changes related to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 were discussed. Yet another topic concerned local costs and what people chose to do with extra money, such as the Alaska state permanent fund dividend checks. Two topics dealt with attitudes toward oil and gas development. The last discussion topic, on outdoor recreation and sportsmen, was added when it was discovered this was an important issue in many villages in the mid-1980s.

Additional information was sought throughout the village. For example, stops were made at the school for student statistics, the store for price checks, and the council office for lists of projects. Informal discussions were held with fishermen about crew shares and boat costs.

In summary, actual time in the villages, not counting travel, was 37 days between November 12, 1984 and May 10, 1985. During the field trips a total of 97 focused discussions were held with 146 active participants. In addition, demographic information for 450 households was gathered by local research assistants. Many other conversations contributed to the larger perspective presented in the village narratives. Table 2 indicates the contacts made during the major discussions. Note that overall there is a near balance between male and female participants--71 men and 75 women--and a near balance of the time spent in each of the two regions of the study area.

Table 2.

FOCUSED DISCUSSIONS

Village	1985 Population*	Total Discussions	Total Participants	Male	Female
Ivanof Bay	51	6	13	6	7
Perryville	129	9	13	5	8
Chignik Lake	160	14	20	10	10
Chignik Lagoon	74	9	17	9	8
Chignik Bay	91	12	19	10	9
Total:	505	50	82	40	42
Karluk	91	9	13	5	8
Larsen Bay	178	7	15	8	7
Akhiok	102	6	8	5	3
Old Harbor	337	7	9	4	5
Ouzinkie	214**	9	9	6	3
Port Lions	291***	9	10	3	7
Total:	1213	47	64	31	33
Grand Total Study Area:	1718	97	146	71	75

* Village Census by Research Assistants
** Informal count, December, 1984
*** Kodiak Island Borough figure, 1982

II. THE SHUMAGIN-CHIGNIK VILLAGES

Five villages are located on the Pacific Ocean (southeastern) side of the upper Alaska Peninsula in the study area for this project: Ivanof Bay, Perryville, Chignik Lake, Chignik Lagoon, and Chignik Bay. The population during the winter and spring of 1984-85 was 505 residents: 340 (67%) in Ivanof Bay, Perryville and Chignik; 165 (33%) in Chignik Lagoon and Chignik Bay.

The following village descriptions are based on visits in November 1984 and May 1985. A total of 50 focused discussions with 82 participants were held, and informal talks with other individuals contributed to the information-gathering. Several themes--which became the framework for the following narratives--appeared in these sessions. Most prominent were kinship and family, summer migration patterns, church relationships, limited entry permit ownership, fishing crew composition, and the unique character of each village.

These Koniag communities of the North Pacific are among the least known villages in North America so there is a special challenge to reach some new understanding of them, and to share that in a written form. The level of detail provided here is inspired partly by Lado Kozely whose 1963 description of Perryville has given the residents, and this study, a rare baseline for understanding continuity and change.

With respect to any future outer continental shelf oil and gas exploration and development in the Shumagin area, the most important features of these communities are the residents' extensive annual migration patterns and the level of dependence on the rich red salmon fishery at Chignik Lagoon. No specific or organized concern about OCS development was perceived at the time of this research. Rather, residents identified tourism and outdoor sportsmen as a greater threat to their highly valued sense of privacy and autonomy.

Ivanof Bay

INTRODUCTION

Ivanof Bay is the newest, the smallest, and the most westerly village of the study area. In 1965, six families, united by a common religious commitment to the Slavic Gospel Mission, moved from Perryville to the abandoned cannery site at the protected end of Ivanof Bay, about ten miles away. In 1985, representatives of three of those families continued to live there, and it was a growing community. Of the 51 residents, 13 (25%) were under 5 years old. One of the original resident families--the Galovins--was represented by a single individual, the brother of Nick Galovin. Another--the Calugans--numbered nine persons in two households. This family had two visitors at the time of the field visit. The third--the Kalmakoffs--numbered 38, or 75% of the village residents. Two salmon fishing permits were held by the Kalmakoffs, and all but four of the 15 village men were active in the commercial fishing industry.

By location and by social networks, the people of Ivanof Bay are linked to Sand Point to the west and, more strongly, to Chignik Lake and Chignik Bay to the east. In contrast, for reasons discussed in the History section that follows, their social ties to nearby Perryville are weak and limited. The economic links, however, of Perryville to Ivanof appear to be increasing as a result of the latter's store. Since 1983 the village has been the location of the best stocked store in the region other than the cannery one at Chignik Lagoon. In 1985, the villagers were expecting the installation of a community electrical system and completion of a water and sewer project. In sum, Ivanof Bay may be characterized as a small, kinship-based village which is modernizing rapidly and which wishes to maintain both a strong religious orientation and sense of privacy. The wish for privacy is clearly indicated by the considerable distance between houses.

References

Little is known about Ivanof Bay. Only four documents relevant to the community have been located. In 1963, a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) economist wrote a report on Perryville. The report included a census, political developments, economic potential, and a short history of the village. Reference is made to the then-current discussion about moving to Ivanof Bay (Kozely 1963).

In the early 1980s, Petterson of Impact Assessment, Inc. spent several days in the village; his general observations are in a report to Minerals Management Service (Petterson, et al. 1982). The village profile completed in 1982 for the state Department of Community and Regional Affairs (CRA) is by far the most comprehensive description of the contemporary village (Environmental Services Ltd. 1982), and since it is a recent publication, the information need be repeated here. The fourth document, a preliminary engineering study for sanitation facilities, was completed in December, 1984. Prepared by the Village Safe Water Program (Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation 1984), it draws heavily on the village profile. Information about water and sewer alternatives and costs is emphasized.

Field Visit

Two days (a total of 48 hours, from 2 p.m. on November 18 until about 2 p.m. on November 20, 1984) were spent in the village. During that time six discussions were held, involving 13 persons from 7 different households. The people spoken with included six men and seven women; counting the other residents in their households, these 13 represented a total of 35 persons, or 69% of this small village. On the first day, the weather was spectacular and many activities were going on outside; fresh laundry was hung out to dry, three home construction jobs were underway (2 additions and a new house), a young man was securing his new single-engine airplane, and families were out for walks along the new boardwalk and the beach. Allen Kalmakoff took me to most of the houses and introduced me; I explained the project and asked if I could come back for a visit "later." In this way most of the residents were met on the first day. Fortunately for the field work, the weather deteriorated and the winds and rain kept people inside for the next day and a half, so plenty of time was available for leisurely discussions. Also the kinship for the two major families was drawn.

History

Katmai and Douglas were two villages on the Alaska Peninsula opposite Kodiak Island. After the 1912 Katmai Eruption, the residents were relocated on the long black beach south of Mt. Veniaminof to the west of their earlier sites. The new village was named Perryville after Captain Perry of the ship *Manning* which transported the villagers away from the disaster area. They were taken first to the town of Kodiak, then to Afognak, and finally to the new site. Even at that time there was serious discussion about the benefits of a nearby site on Ivanof Bay. However, according to the story told by residents (Kozely 1963:4), a white trader at Ivanof sent them back to the present Perryville site, which at that time happened to be rich in caribou. In 1963 the benefits of the Ivanof Bay location were again being discussed, and the possible relocation of the whole village was an issue before the new council that had been elected on January 19, 1963.

By 1963 two factions had developed: one around the Russian Orthodox Church and the other around the "Bible Chapel" of the Alaskan Gospel Association, a branch of the Slavic Gospel Mission. Whether the village should be a dry community was also a key issue at this time (Kozely 1963:11, 15). Of the six members of the 1963 council, three ultimately chose to move their families to Ivanof Bay: Nick Shangin (the president), Alec Calugan, and Elia Yagie (council members). The vice president, Boris Kosbruk, remained in Perryville; in 1984 he was still president of the village council there. Two others who were council members in 1963, Ignatius Kosbruk and Elia Phillips, also continued to live in Perryville with their families in 1984.

By 1965 six families had moved to Ivanof Bay. Among them were Mr. and Mrs. Alec Kuchenof (since deceased) who had lived there before and had a house near the abandoned cannery. Their only daughter, Olga, and her husband, Artemie Kalmakoff, and (at that time) ten children moved there; this family continues to live in the village. Later, Nick Shangin and his family moved to Kodiak and then to Anchorage, while Elia Yagie and his family returned to

Perryville. Alex Calugan and his family remain in Ivanof and there was one member of the sixth family, Galovin, in the village in 1984.

In sum, of the original six families, three had some members still remaining in Ivanof in 1984. The missionary family who originally moved there with the villagers, the Wilsons, was replaced by Olga Erickson; she served for seven years. Later Betty Kursh and Myrtle Lamond provided services in the chapel. As recently as 1982, Ms. Lamond served on the village council as secretary and treasurer. Ms. Kursh, originally from Australia, was stationed for the winter of 1984-85 in nearby Chignik Bay.

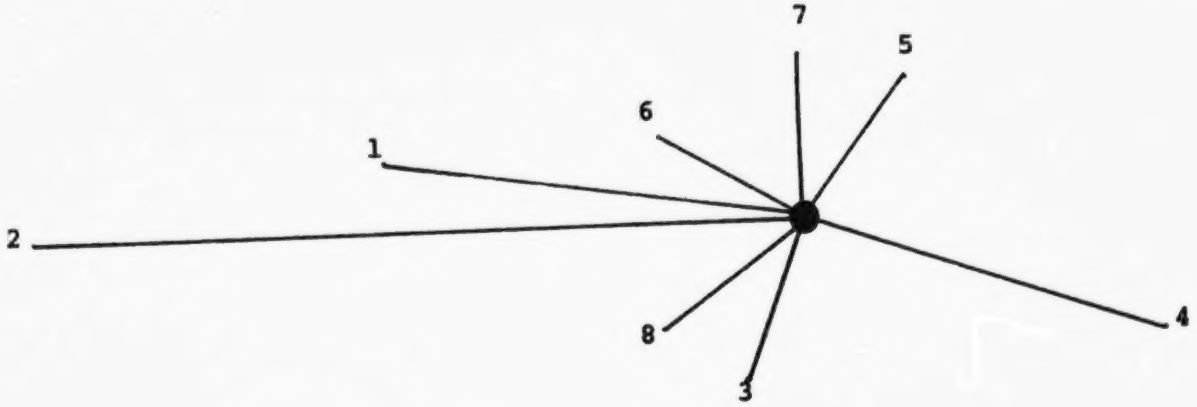
There are two themes to the social organization of Ivanof Bay: kinship and religion. History ties these two together.

Physical layout

A feeling of privacy and a sense of independence, which perhaps were expressed in the initial separation from Perryville, is reflected today in the distribution of houses at Ivanof Bay. Twelve homes are spread out over a half-mile, with only two of them closer than 400 feet to one another.

Plotting distances on the profile map reveals the arrangement of the village. (See Figure 2. Numbers in the following paragraph refer to this figure.) Taking Olga and Artemie Kalmakoff's house as the social and physical center of the village, their children's homes are distributed in the following way: Joe Kalmakoff (2) and his family live in the original family home of his grandparents, who raised him, 1800 feet or about ¼ a mile away. Another son, Alfred (1) lives in house that used to be the power house for the cannery, 1400 feet away. Another son, Glenn (6), lives in a house built in 1965 by Robert Galovin, one of the original families, 400 feet away. Yet another son, Archie (3), has his home, built in 1980, near the beach and airstrip, again 400 feet away. Nearby is Artemie, Jr. (8). Two daughters, Shirley (5) and Arlene (7), and their families live in homes 400 feet north of the village's center; one daughter in the original Kalmakoff home built in the late 1960s, and the other in a home built in 1984. Finally, one son, Harvey (4), built his home in 1981 some 950 feet to the east and south. From the home of one son, Joe (2), to that of his brother, Harvey (4), there is a distance of 2700 feet, or one-half a mile. This distribution of homes, and the desire for privacy that it reflects, stands in sharp contrast to the Kodiak Island villages, especially where HUD housing has clustered homes in rows, all much closer together.

As noted, each of the homes has a history. The oldest ones were built before 1950, several were built soon after the migration in 1965, and then three new ones since 1980. In November, 1984, Joe was putting a substantial addition on his house. S.J. Shugak and his wife, Shirley, were building a new home. The elder Kalmakoffs were adding a large entryway and porch to theirs, a second major addition since they bought the home from the Shangins about 1973. The construction of other buildings is also an important part of village history. The chapel was built in 1966-67, the school in 1973, the clinic and community hall in 1975. The store opened in March, 1981, in Archie and Punky's home (built in 1980). Television was installed in 1983, and telephones in the summer of 1984.



● Home of Olga and
Artemie Kalmakoff

Scale: 1" = 400 feet

Figure 2.

Spatial Distribution of Kalmakoff Households in
Ivanof Bay

Cultural Dynamics 1985

In summary, at least three major periods of construction in Ivanof Bay can be identified. The original cannery buildings were constructed sometime in the 1930s; the chapel and several homes were built during the migration period from Perryville in the mid-1960s, and finally a florescence of recent additions in the early 1980s. It is interesting to note that some of the building materials used in the mid 1960s were from the abandoned cannery site.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Demography

In November, 1984, a total of 51 persons were living in 13 houses in the village, including the school where the teacher lived. Of the Native households, six were nuclear families related to two original families from Perryville. One household included three generations; one included a nuclear family plus an unrelated elder; one included a man and his children; and another household had a man, his child and his sister. The average number of people in a household was 4.2.

Looking only at the fact there were 12 Native houses occupied does not really give an accurate picture of village structure, for the residents are linked by kinship. Two houses are occupied by the Calugans. In one were the elder Calugans (Alec and Eugenia), a son, their daughter's children and two visitors from Sand Point (a son and his fiancee); in the other was a married son, his wife (from Sand Point) and two children. (Another was born in 1985). The Calugans totaled nine in 1984. Alec Calugan's father was born on Woody Island near Kodiak and his mother was of German and Koniag descent from the Chignik area. Alec's wife, Eugenia Phillips, was born in Perryville. According to her birth certificate, her father was part Indian and her mother was Vera Kaiakokonok. Vera was a sister of Father Harry Kaiakokonok of Perryville. Vera's and Harry's father, Wassily, was born in Savinosky, one of the villages that was dispersed after the 1912 Katmai eruption. Harry and, presumably, Vera were born in Katmai.

In summary, on the father's side, the Calugans have ties to the Aleut people "out the chain:" specifically, a first wife, three sons, and a daughter-in-law. On the wife's side, the links are eastward to Perryville and Katmai.

The ten other households were Kalmakoffs. Briefly, Olga and Artemie Kalmakoff had 12 children, nine sons and 3 daughters. The eldest son died in Anchorage; the other 11 children are in Ivanof Bay. In the family home live two unmarried sons and a retarded daughter. Six of their children are married so they have four daughters-in-law and two sons-in-law. Of the 21 grandchildren of Olga and Artemie, 18 were living in Ivanof Bay in November 1984. (Another was born in 1985). Finally, they had one great grandson who initiated the fourth generation. Of the daughters-in-law, two came from Sand Point, one from Kodiak city, and one from Akhiok. The sons-in-law are brothers from the village of Old Harbor. This means four of the family have ties with Kodiak to the east, and two with Sand Point to the west. The Kalmakoffs were born in a several different places, including Perryville, Sand Point, Ivanof, Unga, Kodiak city, Akhiok and Old Harbor. In addition they have kinship links to Anchorage, Chignik Lake, Chignik Lagoon and Chignik Bay. In sum, the elder Kalmakoffs, their children and grandchildren, totaled 38 residents, or 75% of the village population.

For Ivanof in general, it appears that the closer social ties are to those communities and those relatives who share a common religious orientation. For example, those persons who leave the village during the summer (all but nine in 1984), went to Chignik Bay, with one exception - a young man who crews on a boat out of Chignik Lagoon.

An inspection of the ages of the residents reveals that 26% (13) are under five years old, and 38% (19) are under ten. The total number of men between the ages of 19 and 38 is fifteen (30%). The State of Alaska vital statistics indicate 20 births were reported for Ivanof Bay between the years 1971 and 1984. During that time, only one death was recorded (in 1972). Two divorces were reported, one in 1980 and another in 1983. Thus this village has a young population, and there is a high percentage of young men for a village of its size.

Religion

As already noted, religion was a key motive in the peoples' move to Ivanof. For the older population the pain of leaving Perryville may still be felt. As one elder woman of the village commented:

> Because of our kids, we came here. (There was) a lot of persecution after we became Christian. If we stay at Perryville, we thought there would be lots of trouble. It's still hard. We cry to the Lord a lot. We pray for a missionary to come.

There have been at least five missionaries serving the community. On hearing the above comment, the woman's daughter-in-law, who teaches Sunday School, tried to explain that the people of Perryville and other Orthodox members also are Christian. In what appeared to be a continuing effort to persuade her mother-in-law, she pointed out they read in English now in the Orthodox Church and even speak about Jesus. The older woman seemed unconvinced, and reflecting on what must have been a difficult time of her life, noted the intense pain of many years of separation from her parents, and her father's ultimate "salvation" before his death. The younger generation seemed less concerned about the doctrinal differences between the churches.

It is relevant to our understanding of villages like this that we note that the older woman's two sons-in-law are from a family that used to live in Old Harbor and left under similar circumstances of religious tension between local traditional Orthodoxy and the Bible Chapel. Ivanof Bay, like many small communities, has a strong commitment to kinship and religion; family and church are its main institutions.

The School

At the same time, the school is also important. In 1984 there were eleven elementary students, a teacher, a part-time maintenance man, and a teacher's aide (who also teaches preschool). With 13 children under 5 (and two more born in 1985), it not likely the school will need to close, as it did from about 1975 to 1979. During that period some families left so their children could go to schools in Kodiak and Anchorage. For high school, the young people either attended Kodiak High or, while it was open, Victory High School in the Matanuska Valley. In addition to providing education, the school is important because it is the main employer in the village. Here, as in many small communities, its economic significance may equal its educational role. The teacher in November 1984, was retired from the Air Force and had experience in dairy farming in California. He was substituting for the regular teacher, who had had an accident.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The village council seems to have been periodically active, especially since 1982. That is, there were several spurts of activity, spurred mainly by visits from agency personnel. For example, there were five meetings in the spring of 1982 - four of them in April. The topics discussed include telephones, garbage disposal, by-laws, voter registration, electricity in the village, bulk fuel storage, a grant for heavy equipment, and housing loans and fishing loans (though no one applied). Most of the meetings were related to state programs and funding, for modernizing the village. The community was successful with their applications, and by the fall of 1984 they had television, telephones, bulk fuel storage, and $100,000 worth of heavy equipment. As noted earlier, the plan for electricity was about to be implemented, and by the end of 1984 the sanitation engineering plan was completed.

A series of meetings also were held in 1983; four were recorded. They were more evenly distributed than those in the previous year: one in January with a Community and Regional Affairs (CRA) representative concerning 14(c) reconveyance; the next in February, concerning the Bristol Bay Cooperative Management Plan; the third in May again with the CRA; and finally one with the village corporation attorney. In 1984, two meetings had been held by the time of the field visit in November. One was in March and one in May. The meeting held on March 16, 1984 was especially interesting. It was initiated locally and attended by 18 voting members of the village. It lasted from 1:20 to 4 p.m, and a new council was elected.

The dynamics of the nominations and the elections indicate many citizens were actively involved, especially the women. The minutes reflect a conscious effort to make sure both major families were included, an important aspect of life in a small village where such a high percentage of one family is present. Archie Kalmakoff was chosen to continue as president and Alec Calugan to become vice president. Perhaps unusual in village politics was the election of two women to the council: Elizabeth Peterson Kalmakoff, a woman who married into the community from Akhiok, and her sister-in-law, Shirley Kalmakoff Shugak, possibly the first woman from the local Kalmakoff family to hold office. As a result of the election the village council had changed from three brothers of the Kalmakoff family and a father and son of the Calugan family to a council of two Kalmakoff brothers, their eldest sister, one member of the Calugan family, and a woman who married into the village.

Other topics handled at this meeting involved electing a Bristol Bay Area Health Council representative, CPR training, ordering smoke detectors, a Rural Development Administration (RDA) grant, a PL 93-638 (self-determination) grant, house phones, fees for use of the village's heavy equipment, and amending the traditional council constitution and by-laws. The minutes reviewed indicate the topics were dealt with in a politically sophisticated manner. The minutes also reflect both the issues of importance to the village in 1984 and the way the matters were disposed of; they are of historic interest for this reason.

One village leader, Joe Kalmakoff, said he had temporarily dropped out the political arena; he claimed he was burned out from holding many different offices in the 1970s (this is a phenomena that may actually be quite widespread in rural Alaska). Joe was raised by his grandparents, a characteristic which has been found elsewhere to be one that fosters leadership capabilities (see Davis and McNabb 1983:88). Further, his grandfather was president of Perryville in the 1950s. After four years in the Navy, Joe returned to Alaska in 1971, when village and regional corporations were being organized. He served on the Bristol Bay Native Corporation (BBNC) board in 1972, was a director of Bristol Bay Native Association (BBNA), served on the BBNA Health Board, the Rural Alaska Community Action Program (RuralCAP), and was President of the Ivanof Bay village council for many years. In 1984, his only position was on the Fish and Game advisory committee.

He admitted he might, later on, return to a more active political life. In the meantime, he was allowing himself time to recover from the intensity of meetings and the demands of extensive travel. He was encouraging his younger brother in the role of village president. And he was spending time with his family. (This, too, was found elsewhere and may be a pattern with young leaders in their thirties.)

Land Issues

Although about 65 different individuals in the five Chignik villages applied for about 159 different parcels of land (totalling 7,111 acres), there were no Ivanof Bay names on the native allotment list. No land had yet been sold in Ivanof Bay, but Joe Kalmakoff had bought 1.7 acres at Chignik Bay for $13,500. In 1984 there was tension over the allocation of village lands, and over subdividing an area near the school for new housing for families who might possibly return.

Shareholder Addresses. In 1972 there were 47 enrollees to Ivanof Bay under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). In 1985, there were 46. Of these, 22 or 48% lived in Ivanof Bay, 10.7% (5) lived in Perryville, 13% (6) in Kodiak and 24% (11) had Anchorage addresses. This dispersal of enrollees has significant implications for village plans and corporate decision making. By way of illustration, the first corporation board of directors meeting to be held in several years was scheduled for Anchorage in November 1984. Conflict between village and city shareholders was highlighted when one village board member did not attend in the hopes that a quorum could not be reached. It was, and the meeting proceeded without representation from present village residents.

Enrollee blood quantum. The relative degree of Native ancestry reorted under the ANCSA enrollment procedures and the blood quantum criteria established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs provide interesting insights into current affairs. These factors may also prove important in the future. They are not necessarily a precise measure of the "percentage" of Native "blood," for the genetic mix has become extremely complex over many generations with the introduction of Russian, Scandinavian, and other influences. However, these measures still may reflect the amount of cultural and genetic intermingling from the past, and perhaps can serve as an index of the degree of relative isolation for a village. The reported blood quantum for Ivanof Bay indicates a high percentage of Native blood, with little admixture. Of the 46 enrollees, 38, or 82.6% are 3/4ths Native or more. Only 8 are less than three-fourths, and none are less than half Native.

ANCSA issues

Observations about land claims issues ranged from little or no change from ANCSA (3), some changes (1), to more detailed references to confusion regarding BBNC and their power over surface and subsurface rights. One person felt BBNC wanted to approve everything Ivanof did as a village. Another said that there wasn't much change but "certain people are getting greedy". Yet another reported "I never seen any changes. The corporation hasn't done anything." Actually the corporation had lost about $107,000 on the purchase, and ultimate sale, of a fish processing venture - along with similar losses by the other four village corporations of the subregion. Also new problems had arisen over easements for the water, sewer and electrical systems.

Perhaps the most insightful comment was that discrimination had occurred when a non-shareholder was prevented from continuing to work on an oil drilling project at Stepovak Bay. The jobs were reserved for local shareholders only. The person was a shareholder (i.e. Native) but in a different village and different regional corporation. Although the young man had married into the village, he was denied access to the job. In addition he had experienced some difficulty being accepted by some individuals in the village. In the old days, under matrilocal resident patterns, a man would have to count on his wife's relatives for legitimate access to hunting and fishing territory. Perhaps now that has shifted to access to scarce jobs.

Only 22 of 51 Native residents of Ivanof Bay were shareholders in 1985, thus 56% of them were not. About 20 were children born after 1971. As many as 8 adults were shareholders in other villages and other regions, including Aleut and Koniag Corporations. It would seem these adults, legitimately married into the village, are being denied access to decision-making processes concerning their adopted village and the home of their children. If the practice of limiting hiring to local shareholders continues then not only they but also the children will be denied access to future jobs. The situation is additionally ironic when one considers that, for many young Natives, the basis of corporate enrollment was decided by parents in 1971-73, and the child had no say in the matter. Regardless of where they may choose to live later in life, their enrollment remains in the original village and region.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Ivanof Bay has its own particular combination of economic activities that involve harvesting subsistence resources, purchasing available store goods, and distributing money earned from commercial fishing and local jobs.

Subsistence activities

Of the eleven villages visited for this study, Ivanof Bay unquestionably had the greatest access to a wide variety of local foods. For example, during the field visit, Harvey Kalmakoff harvested 15 trout in the stream by his house at one end of the village, and then called his brother who lives at the other end to let him know about the fish. The night before, when Harvey went out to take a steam bath, he had heard a big splash in his stream - silver salmon. He harvested three of them.

Just before the field visit, four men had taken two skiffs with outboards out about 15 miles and had returned with a dozen ptarmigan. The birds were distributed to three different local households, and at least one additional family was invited to share the treat. In contrast to the fish, the ptarmigan were judged "expensive". One of the hunters was asked to calculate the cost of the trip. He figured for gas it ran about $20 to $25 a boat x two boats - which worked out around $4 a ptarmigan. Further, that figure did not account for the price of labor (4 men on an all day trip); costs for the use of the equipment, including the boats, motors and rifles; and the outlay for the shells. But neither did the economic calculations consider the social and mental health benefits of three brothers and a visiting friend going hunting for a day. Nor does a cost of "$4 a bird" include the pleasure of eating the catch with family members. "Chicken is cheaper" as Bill Anderson of Chignik Bay says, but how can one figure the dollar values of fresh ptarmigan and a day of hunting?

Nine people were asked about their favorite food. Three first mentioned purchased items (such as Chinese food), while six first identified specific subsistence items (such as fish, and other sea foods including mussels, clams, octopus and shrimp). Ducks and geese were also mentioned and two men added caribou. One reason given for the presence of only eight dogs in the village is that they scare the caribou away, and the closer the caribou come the better. Three households were asked what they had eaten the night before; two had pork chops (cost at the local store: $5.02 per lb.) and one had spaghetti. On the day of the discussion, one household was serving chicken for supper, another ptarmigan, and the third, split pea soup. While in the village, the field researcher ate both traditional and store-bought food, including curried chicken, dried fish and seal oil, agutuk (for the first dinner), nachos and crackers and cream cheese (while watching "Dallas"), eggs, ham and pancakes for one breakfast, french toast, salmonberry jam, smoked fish, ham and coffee for another breakfast, dungeness crab, rice, hot dogs and fried bread for lunch, fish and beef stew for another lunch, and fresh trout for dinner.

Talking about food led to consideration of where people purchase their food items. The local store orders its supplies from Prairie Market, Span Alaska and J.P. Gottstein in Anchorage; parcel post is used for shipping. The boxes arrive by Peninsula Air and are carried by hand or in a wheelbarrow from the end of the runway to the nearby store, which is located in the home of Archie and Elizabeth Kalmakoff. One household reported they buy all their food from the local store, and do not order case goods from anywhere. Other families, however, indicated they sometimes order direct from Prairie Market in Anchorage, and from Acme Food and Christian K in Seattle.

The one locally owned business is Archie's Store. The initial capital was provided by Elizabeth, his wife. She is a shareholder in Koniag Inc. regional corporation and Akhiok village corporation. In 1981 each of the village corporations that agreed to merge with Koniag Inc. sent a check for $2100 to each shareholder. Elizabeth invested her $2100 in the store. The business has built up credit so that they now can order $10,000 worth of goods. She indicated the freight for such an order would run about $3000. Archie's store is unusually well stocked for a small village enterprise, with cases and cases of food and household items neatly arranged and occasionally stacked to the ceiling. The proprietors have plans for a separate store building, but construction had not yet started. Villagers from nearby Perryville sometimes order from Ivanof; paradoxically the food is first flown westward out to Ivanof, where is is then boxed and flown back eastward to Perryville.

Commercial Fishing

Two salmon fishing permits are held by Ivanof Bay men. One is a temporary permit held by an individual who has fished since 1931. It is now used by his son, who has been trying for six years to straighten out the situation so a permanent one can be issued. One of the men bought his boat from Peter Pan (a processing firm); the other leases a boat at 8% from a fish processing company in Chignik Bay. One captain hires brothers as crew (three in some years, four in 1984); in this case the share to the boat is 46%, 10 to 14% to crew members, and 20% lease fee to the boat's owner. The other captain hires two local men (not members of his family) who average 11% as their crew share; one year on this crew a young boy earned 8% while a man in his 20s received a 14% share. One of the captains indicated a high year to him would be a gross of $255,000, but that an average year is more like $150,000. I was shown a ticket for one day in 1984 when one boat sold 28,523 lbs. of red salmon for 92 cents a pound; the total that day was $26,241.16.

Obviously fifteen local men cannot crew exclusively with only two home boats available. So in 1984 one went to Kodiak, and another to a boat run by a Perryville man; at least one person regularly goes to Chignik Lagoon. Four and sometimes five local men do not work in commercial fishing at all. The three eldest men in the village no longer fish. One of them is regularly employed by the school district for maintenance and repair work during the summer; he is sent to various schools and paid a salary and per diem. At least one local man accompanied him in the summer of 1984.

Jobs, cash, and costs

There are four jobs in the village with regular pay; one of them is full time: the school teacher. The school maintenance man works 2 to 3 hours a day during the school year for $15 an hour. This is the same person who works in the summer repairing and maintaining other schools in the district. For a younger, less experienced individual the school district pays $12 an hour and $29 per diem for summer work. (Two other local men sometimes get the maintenance work at the school.) Another school-related job is the teacher aide and preschool teacher. The fourth key job, perhaps the highest paying local one other than the school teacher's, is the health aide. This individual works four hours a day, four days a week, and is paid $985 a month. Thus, of the four regular jobs, three are held by local Native residents; two are school-related and one health-related. In 1984 women held two of the three jobs.

Already mentioned is the store, which is run and managed by a local couple. In 1984 four to six jobs were anticipated with the coming project for community electrification. The men expected to draw numbers in a lottery for these scarce jobs that were scheduled to last about two weeks and pay $18 an hour. In the mid 1970's, when BBNC joined with an oil company that was drilling for oil at nearby Stepovak, about six of the local men worked on the crew. One reported he earned $24 an hour, two weeks on and one week off. By and large, the experience was recalled with good, positive memories; exceptions were the already cited occasion when local shareholders were selected to the exclusion of men who married into the village, and an episode relating the death of one man from a trip to Anchorage subsequent to getting the money from the work.

In sum, the residents have many skills. In addition to fishing and other sea and boat related work, the men have had experience working on oil exploration. Further, at least one man has training in aviation ground transportation, and another temporarily left the village in 1985 to gain diesel mechanic training. Local carpentry skills are reflected in the fine construction of the villagers' own homes.

Local costs are high, with the exception of housing. One man reported his food and fuel expenses per month were about $750 (he lives in a small house; seven persons are in residence). Another man reported he used about one drum of oil every five days for the electricity and heat in his new house. Another man with a smaller home said he needs two drums a month for electricity. (Nearly every household has an individual generator; at least two households share electricity and costs.) For a typical household local fuel costs have three basic parts. Base oil is $400 a drum (it is required for electric generators); fuel oil, $85.25 a barrel (used for heating and light), and propane, $105 for a 100 lb. tank (for cooking). Other major items that go into household expenses are fishing-related; for example, a 115 Evinrude outboard motor costs between $3900 and $4700. A purse seine, 250 fathoms, costs between $8,000 and $20,000; a beach net, 125 fathoms, $5,000 and $12,000; web is $5 a lb. (These prices came from purchases made at the Chignik Lagoon Columbia Wards Fisheries (CWF) store.)

A query was made about what "extra money" might be used for. The variety of answers included to pay for groceries, fuel, Christmas presents (associated especially with the first permanent fund dividend check); to get building materials and a refrigerator for a home; and to settle with the IRS. One father bought his five year old son a Suzuki "50" (a small three-wheeler) as a reward for "spotting fish" during the summer of 1984. A young man who was on a crew out of Kodiak gave his father a four wheeler. This kind of gift from a working son to a father was also reported in Davis and McNabb (1983: 332.) Two of the women indicated they used their permanent fund checks for health trips to Anchorage. For example, one person spent $500 to go to Anchorage to have a tooth pulled. It is interesting to note that no one indicated they used "extra money" to pay for bills, vacation trips, or clothes.

Seasonal activities

Talking about what people do in summer and winter revealed a clear cycle of seasonal activities for most residents. In summer, most go to "The Bay," i.e., Chignik Bay, where some have summer homes and others are building them. In 1984, one single man went to the Lagoon, and another to Kodiak but primarily the migration is to the Bay. Nine persons (18% of the winter population) stayed in Ivanof for the summer of 1984; this encompassed two families, one of which was the owner of the store. Those who stay at Ivanof subsistence fish, gather and process berries, and go picnicking and camping. For the Fourth of July, one family sometimes goes to Perryville. Note that no local women work in the canneries at the Bay or Lagoon. As one young woman reports, "its boring" and she quit when she got married. In the winter, some hunting goes on; two men trapped during the 1984-85 season. Building and working on their homes is another activity for the men. One woman crochets during the winter and sells her artwork to an outlet in the town of Kodiak.

Capital Improvement Projects

The village secretary reported that in recent years the village has obtained about $590,000 for various projects, including $100,000 for heavy equipment (a front-loader and Cat), about the same amount for electrification, $24,000 in revenue sharing funds, and $300,000 for the water and sewer systems. The community has put in a request for a post office and regular mail service. There was a clear sense of accomplishment for a small village, even though a request for HUD housing had been turned down and home building in the community was "on hold" until land issues could be settled. Here briefly is a recapitulation of major local projects:

1965	Village established
1966	Elementary school built
	Chapel built
1975	Health Clinic
	Community Hall
1981	Boardwalks
	Private store established
1982	Solid waste landfill
1983	Television
1984	Telephones in private homes

1985 Community wide electrification
and water and sewer project expected.

SUMMARY

Ivanof Bay residents like their village - only one indicated a preference to live elsewhere. In discussing what the villagers liked, the men mentioned family, good hunting and fishing, lots of places to go, privacy, camping and good water. The women spoke of how it was peaceful, it was home, subsistence foods are available, they feel so free, no cars, lots of privacy, camping and the kids are safe.

Ivanof Bay is an example of a new, small but growing village, which values its family ties and privacy. Economically comfortable, residents display respect for each other and a clear preference for the good life as they perceive they have it in their village. The major problem in 1984 was conflict between current and former residents over land and corporation matters.

In November, 1984 the village of Ivanof Bay included:

51 people
13 households
5 banyas
8 dogs, including 2 Norwegian elkhounds and a poodle
2 cats
13 operating three-wheelers
1 privately-owned airplane

The Future and OCS activities

This community appears to be secure economically; it has a base in commercial fishing and some local jobs; there were no negative expressions concerning future oil and gas developments. One women said she wouldn't leave for a job elsewhere, and four men indicated a clear support for oil and gas if it provided jobs. One, a boat captain, indicated he preferred exploration be limited to land, he hoped on the village's land. The positive experience of working at Stepovak, which apparently paid well and was enjoyable work, has influenced the local men's interest in future oil and gas developments.

Perryville

INTRODUCTION

The village of Perryville is the second oldest community in the Chignik/Peninsula subregion of the study area. Located 40 miles southwest of Chignik and 68 miles east of Sand Point, it is situated on a shallow and extensive beach of black sand on the Kametolook River delta at the foot of Mt. Veniaminof. Its present residents are primarily descendants of families from the villages of Katmai and Douglas which were abandoned following the June 6, 1912 eruption of Mt. Katmai.

Of the 129 people living in 35 households in the spring of 1985, 119 (92%) were Native; and 10 were non-Native, including the teachers and a missionary couple. The village economy centers predominantly around commercial fishing, with other jobs involving school support or employment through the local entrepreneur (who has also held the position of council president since the mid-1960s). In contrast to Ivanof Bay, Perryville has a commitment to the Russian Orthodox faith. In 1985 Perryville residents owned a total of 7 salmon fishing permits, 7 boats, 7 trucks, 2 airplanes and 48 three-wheeled vehicles. Although the boat owners and some of their regular crew were doing well, there is some evidence of increasing social and economic inequity within this conservative and traditional village. These changes may be symbolically reflected by the new construction of housing from 1 to 2 miles away from the village center.

References

Four documents provide background concerning Perryville. Of special significance is the 1963 report prepared by the BIA Projects Development Officer, Lado A. Kozely, an economist (Kozely 1963). This document includes a census, and a description and analysis of concerns of the villagers; many of these were still pertinent 22 years later. A final report on sanitation facilities construction, prepared by the Alaska Area Native Health Service in 1981, reviews the history and costs of the project. Initiated by a request in 1966 and completed and transferred to the village in 1981, the project encompassed a timber dam, water treatment building, water distribution system, septic tanks, fenced sanitary landfill, storage garage, and tractor. The total was $450,000 or $18,000 per house for 25 houses.

The Perryville dock feasibility draft study prepared by Robertson & Associates (Alaska Department of Transportation & Public Facilities 1984) reiterates some of the same problems, and needs, for harbor facilities identified in 1963 by Kozely. The profile prepared by Environmental Services Ltd. (Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1982) is a key document for anyone seeking information about the contemporary village. It is sufficiently complete to stand alone and provides the most current data, which need not be replicated in this report. Finally, it should be noted for future reference that the health clinic has birth and death records kept by teachers from 1932 to the 1950s.

Field Visits

Two visits were made to the village by N. Davis. Both visits, lasting a total of four days, fell at the end of trips to the Chignik region, and each intercepted different events. The first visit was at Thanksgiving time, from 3 p.m., November 20, 1984 to 9:30 a.m. on November 23 (2½ days). The second trip was from 6 p.m. on May 8 to 9:30 a.m. on May 10, 1985 (1½ days). This was a time when most of the local salmon fishermen had gone to Sand Point to retrieve their boats, and when a herring fleet was passing by enroute to the Togiak fishing grounds. On the field trips much time was spent getting acquainted and explaining the project, for this is a relatively isolated community that treasures its privacy. Two Orthodox church services were attended, kinship charts were drawn and shared, and, altogether a total of nine discussions were held. Participating were five men and eight women whose households included a total of 39 village residents (33% of the current census). Representatives of each of the four major families, the president of the village council, the president of the village corporation, the elderly priest, two lay readers, three housewives, and three of 7 local permit holders were involved.

HISTORY

At the time of the first American census, in 1880, seven villages were reported on the southern coast of the Alaska Peninsula, presumably all Koniag related. A total of 396 persons (66 creole and 330 "Innuit") were listed in those villages; the largest one, Katmai, had 218 residents (37 creole and 181 "Innuit"), for 55% of the total.

On June 6, 1912, Mt. Katmai erupted. It was a time when the villagers were at fish camp sites along the coast. For three frightening days, ash blackened the sky and fell, blanketing the ground. It was a major event in the north Pacific that is recalled by a few elders today and well known to the descendants of the disaster. (For a detailed narrative, see "A Story" written by Harry Kaiakokonok in 1956 for Island Breezes, a small publication by the Public Health Service Hospital at Sitka. "Father Harry" was hospitalized there for a time.)

The villagers of Katmai and Douglas were evacuated from Kafluk Bay and transported to Afognak; from there they were taken by Captain Perry on the ship Manning to Ivanof Bay, and, eventually, to the present location of Perryville. (This was one of the first government-sponsored relocations in Alaska; it should be compared with others, like those following the 1964 Earthquake. Such a comparison would provide insights into local responses, both short and long-term, and should give clues to the irreversible alterations that accompany relocations.)

The following is a brief outline of a few key events in Perryville's past.

1912 Villages of Katmai and Douglas relocated at Perryville. One house from this period remained, and four individuals from the era were still living in Perryville in 1985.

1922 School built

1923 Orthodox church built; it is still standing, and the congregation still active. Ikons from Douglas and Katmai churches were brought to this church.

1930 Post Office established.

1950 Native village of Perryville organized under IRA charter. Harry Kaiakokonok, first president.

1956 Beginning of discussion of moving the village to Ivanof Bay. Alec Kuchenoff, village council president.

1957 New school built - at the old site. Well drilled for water.

1963 BIA study by Kozely. Some contention over village location and drinking policy. Nick Shangin, village president.

1965 Six households (about 41 people) moved to Ivanof Bay. (Included were Calugan, 4; Kalmakoff, 14; Galovin, 1; Kuchenoff, 2; Shangin, 7; and Yagie 13.)

1979 Water system upgraded, elementary school upgraded, high school opened.

1980 Airport (2500 feet) and village roads built by state Department of Transportation and Public Facilities.

1981 Bridge replaced; gym built.

1982 Community electrification. Classroom and library addition.

1983 Television

1984 Telephones in the homes. Oceanview Corporation building constructed.

In 1985, the village of Perryville reflected a mix of old and new. The old townsite remained, with several buildings from the early era located between 50 and 100 feet apart. New construction included roads and new homes, some built by permit/boat owners as far away as two miles out of town. In addition to the 30 Native homes, there were fourteen steam baths (banyus), a 3-room motel, two rental units, an airport building, a private airplane hanger, village garage, community hall, and post office building. Finally, there was a village fuel tank, five private fuel storage tanks, a village TV and phone house, 21 telephones, satellite dish, power house, six fire hydrants, numerous sheds and smokehouses, the church, two school buildings and teacher accommodations. Perryville is modernizing in physical facilities yet clearly remains one of the most conservative and traditional villages of the study area.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In this section, the demographic characteristics of the residents, their kinship and family links, and the part played by the church, school and the values of village life are discussed. Some time depth is provided by comparisons with the earlier study by Kozely (1963).

Perryville has maintained a stable number of total residents over a 45 year period (1939-1985). This has happened in spite of a major emigration of about 40 people in the mid-1960s to Ivanof Bay, and an apparent continuing out-migration of residents, especially lately to Anchorage. Part of the stability comes from the fact that there continue to be enough babies born to replace the departures, and because some people leave for a while but return later in life.

Demography

In May, 1985, a total of 119 Alaska Natives resided in 30 households in Perryville; in 1963, 122 residents lived in 23 households. In 1985, the average number of people per household was 3.97; in 1963 the average was of 5.3 per house. In addition in 1985, ten non-Natives lived in the village, in contrast to 5 in 1963. Included in the 1963 numbers were two missionaries, and the teachers. There was an increase of three teachers by 1985. No non-Natives lived permanently in the village.

Eighteen of the households were nuclear families (60%), while three (10%) included three generations, in each case a nuclear family plus grandchildren (the children of daughters). There were also four households with single persons, three men and one woman, and other arrangements such as two brothers in one home; there was one couple without children at home. The non-Native population included two single persons, 2 couples without children, and one nuclear family of 4.

The Native residents were born in at least 13 different locations, though the highest proportion were born in the village itself (41 or 34%). The four oldest residents were born in Katmai (1897 and 1906), Douglas (1903) and Kanatak (1909)--villages east of the Chigniks and opposite Kodiak Island. Historically, there was considerable contact between the villages, especially Douglas and Afognak. Present descendants of Afognak, now living in Kodiak and Port Lions, recall they had relatives in Douglas, but the precise connections and the dates of residence could not be determined at this time. The teachers came from five different states: North Dakota, Montana, Pennsylvania, South Dakota and New York.

Birthplaces, and sometimes the time of year of birth, can be a means of reconstructing other historical events. For example, among Perryville residents born in the village, 34 were born between the years 1916 and 1959. However only 6 have been born there since 1959 (none of the present residents were born in 1960, 1961 or 1962). This situation appears to be a reflection, among other factors, of the availability of U. S. Public Health Service (PHS) facilities and PHS policies. To illustrate, starting in 1963 and going through 1982, a total of 14 children were born in Dillingham, presumably at the PHS's Kanakanak hospital there. Also, starting in 1967, some babies were born in Anchorage (a total of 19 up to 1985). The year 1982 may have been a major transition time for mothers; three had babies in Dillingham and three had babies in Anchorage. Since 1982, 12 babies have been born to Perryville parents--all in Anchorage.

From this information it is clear that the preferred place for expectant mothers to give birth is now Anchorage. One can conclude that the practice of midwifery in the village is gone. The reasons for an absence of births in the early 1960s are less straightforward: possibly children born then, who would now be in their early 20s, simply are living elsewhere. On the other hand, we may have a reflection of PHS policy at the time that encouraged birth control. Or it may be an accident of history that fewer children were born then. When considering the Native residents living in Perryville in 1985 who were born elsewhere, we find they came from Cold Bay (1), Old Harbor (1), Oregon (2), Chignik Lake (1), and from Juneau and Angoon in Southeast Alaska (three Tlinget women).

Time of year when a person was born can also give additional historic insight. For example, three Perryville residents were born in Squaw Harbor, during the summers of 1926, 1928 and 1931. Upon inquiry, it was learned their parents worked in the cannery there. Beginning in 1942, some summer babies were born in Chignik Bay and Chignik Lagoon, reflecting perhaps a shift of workers from canneries in the west to canneries in the east. From the 1963 census, birthdates were analyzed by month of the year. An even distribution of 116 birthdates, over a 12 month period, would average 9.67 births each month. The actual birth distribution reflects a quite different pattern. Only 3 (2.6%) were born in April, nine months after the height of fishing season, but 16 (13.8%) were born in September, nine months after Christmas. This is one way the seasonality of life is reflected.

Age and Sex Distribution. Small villages, like many communities, have varying distributions of men and women in the different age brackets, information which provides important insights about the community. For example, the number of children under five is useful for school planning, the number of boys who are teenagers can have important implications for fishing industry labor projections, and the number of older residents affects the planning for their options. The demographic tree for 1963 compared with 1985 also shows changes in the resident composition. In 1985, there were 16 children under 5, with a total of 38 under 15 years of age. This suggests, since under ANCSA those born after 1971 can only get stock by inheritance, that 32% of the villagers are not shareholders in any corporation. It does not mean that everyone else is a shareholder, but up to 68% of the other residents might be. Where they might be enrolled could vary, and might not necessarily be Perryville or the Bristol Bay regional corporation. Specific data were not available for this report.

The distribution of men and women is fairly even: 55:45. The largest gap in the ratio occurs in the age bracket of 15 to 19 (12 boys to 5 girls); and in the ages of 35 to 64 (19 men to 11 women). There are only 3 women between the ages of 45 and 60, reflecting perhaps the time when most women move out of the village.

Kinship and Marriage

The marriage patterns of Perryville appear to be primarily endogamous and patrilocal. Of 25 marriages, 16 (64%) are endogamous, that is, both husband and wife were Perryville residents. Of the nine other marriages, all are of local men with women from other communities; in other words, women marry into the village (a patrilocal pattern). Men, if they marry, choose local women, or bring their wives to the village. For example, four women born in Chignik Lake married Perryville men. Two other Koniag women married Perryville men, one woman from Chignik Bay and one from Old Harbor on Kodiak Island. Finally, three Tlinget women have moved to Perryville and two of them, sisters, have married brothers. There are 11 single men over 19, and 3 single women over 19; that is, 31% of the adult males and 11% of the adult females were unmarried in May 1985.

Kinship analysis can confirm if there is a local pattern of women marrying outside the village, although it cannot provide reasons for the pattern. Only specific research on the topic, which was not conducted for this study, can suggest causation. Kinship analysis can, however, show if there is a patrilocal pattern, and then it can be demonstrated how the number of sons a family has influences the relative size of the extended family group living in the village. For example, one woman had 12 children, eleven of them living. Of her eight daughters, 7 are living elsewhere: Kodiak (2), Anchorage (2), and California, Hawaii and Oregon; while only one daughter lives in Perryville. But all of her three sons live in Perryville. The total of her immediate family living in the village is 17, including herself, four children, four in-laws and 8 grandchildren.

Another woman had 14 children, nine of them living. All of her daughters live in Anchorage and all of her sons live in Perryville, two of them married. This family totals 13 Perryville residents, including the woman, four sons, two daughters-in-law, and six grandchildren. Combined, these two families total 30 persons, or 25% of the village's Native population.

In contrast another extended family, all descendants of three brothers, encompass nine households. A total of 45 persons, or 38% of the village residents, are in this family. In this case there were more male descendants over several generations.

Attributing individuals to families by last name, the following four groups account for 110 people, or 93% of the village:

			Individuals
Kosbruk	9	households	45 (38%)
Shangin	10	households	33 (28%)
Phillip	5	households	20 (17%)
Yagie	3	households	12 (10%)
Totals	27		110 (93%)

Another important feature of the demography of small villages is out-migration; in other words, who leaves and where do they go? Between 1983 and 1985, a total of 23 residents left Perryville to live elsewhere. One woman married and moved to Chignik Lake (patrilocal marriage), one woman moved to Kodiak, another moved to Indiana, and a total of 12 women moved to Anchorage. In sum, 15 of the 23 people (65%) who left the village were women.

This situation provides links to other towns in Alaska. In addition, there are kinship ties across generations. The result is a network of social relationships throughout the North Pacific communities. For example, the Kosbruks are related to Laktonens of Larsen Bay; while the Phillips have ties to Akhiok and Ouzinkie. One man was raised by the parents of a woman now living in Chignik Lagoon, and he feels as if she is his sister. Through a recent marriage, one family has ties now to Old Harbor. And the three Tlinget women maintain their links to southeast Alaska.

In sum, Perryville is not an isolated, wholly endogamous community. Because of migration and marriage, the people have social contacts elsewhere. These ties appear to be primarily to the coastal communities to the east. As far as has been determined, only one local woman married westward; and there were no Aleut men or women from communities to the west living in Perryville in 1985.

Vital Statistics. According to the state of Alaska's record of vital statistics, there have been five marriages since 1979, five divorces since 1972, 13 deaths since 1972, and 47 births since 1970.

Values of Village Living

In response to a query about what they liked about living in Perryville, the people cited a range of different things. They included: family, born here, good hunting, good fishing, peaceful, no boundaries, subsistence foods, freedom, no traffic, and church. One spontaneous response from someone who had returned after several years in Anchorage was "go banyu!" Indeed, out of the eleven villages of the study area, this is one of the most active for "steamers." A total of 14 banyus in a village of 30 Native households gives a ratio of 47%, which matches Chignik Lake's. The ratio of individuals to banyus, however, is 8.5 people per banyu, which is lower than Chignik Lake's 10.7.

The Church

St John's Orthodox Church was built in 1923, and the holy ikons from the abandoned villages of Katmai and Douglas were moved to the new location. The Russian Orthodox tradition is strong in these north Pacific villages, especially among the elders. In Perryville, the priest, Harry Kaiakokonok, age 77, was trained by his teacher, Simeon Yakoff. Kaiakokonok's father, Wasillie, was born in Savinosky and raised in Afognak by Father Kasheveroff, who educated him in Russian. Wasillie was later the lay reader in Perryville. The village's lay readers in 1985 included Elia Phillips, Ignatius Kosbruk, Martha Kosbruk, and Harry O. Kosbruk. Father Harry, as Kaiakokonok is called, raised Ignatius, and he also raised Harry O's mother, so in a sense both a "son" and a "grandson" are following his tradition of leadership in the church. Martha Phillips Kosbruk is president of the Sisterhood.

In November, 1984, N. Davis attended two services. The first, on November 19, included a special blessing involving a seal on the forehead; a stick was dipped in consecrated oil and a cross marked on each person in attendance. The service was also in honor of the miraculous recovery of Father Harry following a serious stroke the year before. There were 26 villagers present including four very young children and five young boys in vestments. At the Thanksgiving service the next day, again about 26 villagers attended, including six elderly people and six children under 7 years of age. There were three singers in the choir at this service, and it was said the congregation missed the strong voice of George Kosbruk who was recently deceased. The sermon, prayers, and readings were in English, but the responses were often in Slavonic, especially the supplication, "Lord have mercy."

A new Orthodox church building was being planned, and land next to the present church has already been dedicated. Services are held regularly on Saturday, Sundays, and on special religious holidays.

In the community at the time of this research were the Freemans from Idaho, two missionaries from an entirely different, Protestant sect. It was said that they would not be returning. No further information was obtained; the residents seemed to find the issue sensitive. The tension here about missionaries appeared similar to that in Old Harbor.

The School

The other major institution in the village is the school. Physically, it is a complex of buildings adjacent to the church. In 1984-85 a total of five teachers were employed there: Mike Ekta, Kip and Marsha Azorsky, Lynn Hieb, and Janet Kolva. In addition to the teachers were eight part-time positions, seven of them held by local Native residents. The advisory board (ALSAC) was not active at the time of this visit.

Forty students were enrolled in 1984:

High School	14
5th to 8th grades	11
Kindergarten to fourth:	10
Preschool	5
Total	40

In contrast to the 26 in 1985, the 1963 enrollment for the first through 8th grades was 39. A comparison of the students' surnames from the four major families for these two years is of interest:

1963			1985		
No.	Family		No.	Family	
11	Shangin	(28%)	6	Shangin	(15%)
9	Phillips	(23%)	5	Phillips	(13%)
6	Kalmakoffs	(15%)		none	
4	Yagie	(10%)	2	Yagie	(5%)
5	Kosbruk	(13%)	20	Kosbruk	(50%)
4	Other	(10%)	7	Other	(18%)

The most dramatic increase was in the Kosbruk extended family, from 13% of the school population to 50%. These children are mostly the grandchildren and in some cases the great grandchildren of three Kosbruk brothers.

Social Activities

The major social events center around the church and school. At the time of this research bingo had recently begun, and exercise classes under the leadership of a teacher were held (until the teacher left). The special occasion of birthdays and namedays is a tradition here as elsewhere in the subregion. During one visit to the home of a mother with seven children, four pies were prepared for one of the son's birthdays. Probably the single most important and frequent social event is "taking steams."

To summarize, major themes in the social organization of the residents of Perryville include family and kinship, the church, and social events like "steams." The role of drinking is a great concern, and is considered below in the section under social control.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The focus of the analysis here is leadership, the village council, village corporation, land, shareholder addresses, and social control. Perryville is an unusual community in a number of ways. One unique characteristic is a concentration of influence in a single individual. Boris Kosbruk, who has been village president since 1965, is also the local entrepreneur, a boat and permit owner, and the father of seven sons and one daughter. His daughter married a man from Chignik Lake, and his wife is from Chignik Lake, so the ties of this family to the Lake are strong. Over the years, Mr. Kosbruk has held many positions; among them have been the following :

BBNA president
BBNC director (for eight years)
RuralCap board member
Chairman of BBNA Finance Committee
AFN board
Director, United Bank of Alaska
Director, Peter Pan (Processing plant)
Chairman, School Board
Chignik Boat Owner's Association
President of Oceanside Corporation
    (the village corporation)
Bristol Bay Regional Development Council (appointed
    by the Governor)
Bristol Bay Health Association, director

Boris, whose father was also a local entrepreneur, has chosen to concentrate his efforts in the village. The family's business interests include a motel, apartment units, garage, and a store that he has in partnership with his sister's husband. In the broader context, the partial list above reveals the many different responsibilities in which a Native leader can become involved, and suggests one reason why a growing number of such leaders statewide are choosing to drop out of political activities. Among other stresses, positions like these require many absences from home for meetings, a situation both demanding for the individual and difficult for family members. In the eleven villages of this study, six men who were regional leaders in the 1970s have been identified as having dropped most of their external responsibilities.

There are four local men who had Vietnam experience. One of them, Marvin Yagie, is President of the Native village corporation, Oceanview Corp. Marvin graduated from West High School in Anchorage, then served in the Navy for four years. He is a boat and permit owner and known to be a local "highliner" in commercial fishing. He also serves as vice president of the village council.

Boat and permit ownership is obviously important. In 1985 four village council members were boat and permit owners; as were all the officers of the village corporation. Three men served on both major organizations and all three were boat and permit owners.

Land Issues

In the early 1970s when the regional corporations were forming as required by ANCSA, an alliance was forged between the five Chignik villages and the Bristol Bay Native Corporation. Perryville also had been asked to join the Aleut Corporation, with which they had some, though limited, connections, and the Koniag Corporation. From an ethnic standpoint, the villages are more closely linked with Kodiak Island than with the other two regions; but in the early 1970s the Chigniks as an independent subregion already had some educational and health service connections to Bristol Bay. So Perryville joined the other Chignik villages in the BBNC. Boris Kosbruk was instrumental in the formation of the BBNC alliance and the details of how the decision was reached should be documented as a part of Alaskan history.

In the course of this study one inquiry related to ANCSA issues. The intent was to find how the land claims were thought to have changed life in the village. Three individuals indicated there had been no change; one made reference to a land allotment problem; and another somehow had tied state fish and game license requirements to the land claims: "Inside our land, we have to have a license even to sports fish." One leader thought about the issue a long time, laughed, then paused for another few awkward moments and at last observed, "I can't say it hasn't bothered us." This individual then added, "Come back in four or five years," indicating in this way the query both came too soon and was too difficult to talk over at the present time.

Land Allotments

Ten different individuals have filed for Native Allotments; they claimed a total of 19 different parcels encompassing approximately 1288 acres. They were all men and two have since died. One especially controversial filing was by Harry Kaiakokonok. Apparently the parcel overlaps the airfield built at Stepovak, and sometimes bear guides land there with hunters. No residents of Ivanof Bay filed for any Native allotments, but they consider the Stepovak area their territory, and someone is trying to claim the land chosen by Kaiakokonok. Father Harry's response is, "You take that land over my dead body." The conflict was continuing at the time this was written.

Village Corporation

Oceanview Corp. is the village corporation formed under ANCSA. Visible evidence of its presence is displayed in a cedar log house built in 1984 by seven village men. When completed it will serve as an office building. According to its President, the corporation has received 86,000 acres but their 14(c) lands had not yet been reconveyed. The corporation, like Ivanof Bay's, had invested in fish processing and within two years lost much of this investment.

Sovereignty, and related issues raised by the United Tribes of Alaska, had not reached Perryville at the time of this study, but there was some indication of disillusionment, especially with AFN. The President noted that from time to time he takes trips Outside on behalf of the corporation.

Shareholder Addresses

In 1985, the Perryville corporation had 133 shareholders; this represented 19.4% of the shareholders in the Chignik area subregion. Perryville was the second largest village corporation in the cluster of 5 villages. Of the total BBNC shareholders (5220), Perryville constituted 2.5%. Based on 120 available addresses, the following is an analysis of where the Perryville shareholders reported they lived. (Five shareholders were deceased and eight others had no addresses available.)

A comparatively large number of shareholders lived in the village: 57% of the total (68 of 120). Eight others lived in other villages of the subregion (6%). This included 5 at Chignik Bay, 2 at Chignik Lake and one at the Lagoon. Only one had an address in Bristol Bay, at Dillingham. This means 77% of the Perryville shareholders lived in the BBNC region. Of those with addresses elsewhere, 30% (36) lived in Alaska, but outside the region. They included 3% (4) in Kodiak, 16% (19) in Anchorage, 8% (11) in Kenai, and one each in Sitka and Atka. All told, 94% (113) of the shareholders, had Alaska addresses. Only 7 were in other states: the west coast (4), Hawaii (2) and Texas (1).

Blood Quantum. The number of shareholders who are listed not as "mixed" but as 100% "Native" is higher for Perryville than for the other 4 villages of the subregion. Of the 106 shareholders who are more than 50% Native, 92, or 70.2%, are reported to be full Natives. Twenty six (19.7%) are 50% or less "Native;" five of these are one quarter and one is non-Native. As time goes on these proportions will most likely change, with different implications as the proportion of local to urban residents also changes.

Drinking and Social Control

Perhaps the greatest problem facing Perryville has to do with drinking, the accompanying behavior, and what to do about it. This topic was one of concern in 1963 (Kozely 1963); and apparently the answers have remained undiscovered in the meantime. The frequency of comments, unsolicited by the researcher, suggests a high level of continuing concern. Examples were references such as "We would like to see this village dry" and "In 1935 it was a nice village, people cooperated and worked together, but since 1963, everything changed...(since we) allowed drinking."

Several residents reported that alcohol had been obtained in King Salmon and Sand Point and flown in by chartered aircraft but that the state trooper was putting an end to the practice. Others referred to the drinking being worse than before and causing disruptive behavior including a recent stabbing. Increased fear was expressed when drinking was known to be taking place. Indeed, the author was warned that being in the village at Thanksgiving might be "dangerous," and drinking did occur. Apprehension was high, houses were locked, accusations were made on CB radio, phone calls placed, and some residents were genuinely frightened.

Some explanations of drinking were volunteered, such as the fact the cash buyers for fish hand out beer in the summer. This is perceived as related to increased drinking in the wintertime. Drinking has also become associated with a growing sense of ineffectiveness on the part of some Native fishermen. Some crew members have received lower percentages when fishing for their own relatives. Drinking may be a cultural pattern so well established in the village that it has become increasingly a part of the way of life, and is now an expected and anticipated pattern - along with the anxiety it produces.

There is some suggestion that other problems are now part of the pattern of life in the village, as is perhaps talking about problems. Illustrations appeared in the discussions about the kinds of changes happening locally. The topic was intended to elicit attitudes toward the new facilities that have recently been built. Reference to the gym, the high school and airfield did occur, but only twice. More prominent were comments that changes were happening "too fast," that the village is "going downhill," that now "girls are getting pregnant" (when too young), and that "everything is going to dollars, welfare. They didn't ask for it; it just happened." Others commented that the village council never had any meetings (two said this), people were not informed, the community hall was not being used, and "everything is all mixed up." Some people were nostalgic for the good old days when there "used to be dances with accordions, banjos and singing," and when "The people used to be organized when H.K. was chief."

The attitude was summed up in the perspective offered by one resident:

> "Any trouble come around here, we let it ride."

In this remark is an indication of how traditional Perryville has chosen to be. The villagers may well prefer to maintain household autonomy, and not to participate in local meetings. Extending this preference, they may also not choose to get involved in the conflict required to change the status quo. It may be they would rather talk about drinking and other problems, expressing an apparently pervasive concern, rather than do much about them.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Here a brief discussion about subsistence activities is followed by a longer analysis of commercial fishing and its effects on the village. The section on jobs, cash and local costs seeks to understand the economic dimensions of the village. Finally, how these factors may relate to the future and OCS issues is discussed.

Subsistence activities and food preferences

The most unusual, and diverse, meal the author had during the whole sequence of field visits was the first meal on the second trip to Perryville. Effie Shangin first served moose meat stew, followed by duck soup, then baked salmon. Something from the land, sky and sea. Foods bought in a store, such as spare ribs, beef stew, rice, and mashed potatoes also were eaten during the visits to Perryville. Homemade bread was a local item of pride. In an informal discussion of their favorite foods, nine persons cited subsistence foods--no one mentioned store-bought items. The range of favorites was extensive, with four people selecting caribou and two agutuk. Also included were steamed clams with seal grease, sea urchins, dried fish, ptarmigan, octopus, sea lion flippers and berries. In a follow-up discussion about what was eaten the night before, many of the foods mentioned had been purchased; for example, one family had lima beans and ham hocks, and another, tv dinners. But answers in May included bear meat, caribou bones, and seal.

One man indicated that he goes about 17 miles by three wheeler for caribou hunting. The costs for one trip, including equipment, he estimated at about $2453:

Honda:	$2000	
Gas:	$ 3	(2 gals @ $1.50/gal.)
Rifle:	$190	
Tent:	$125	
Food:	$ 20	
Shells:	$ 15	
Sleeping bag	$100	
Total	$2453	

He didn't say whether he bagged any caribou on the trip for which he estimated these costs.

In the spring of 1985, two women in their sixties had a grand time picking berries for agutuk, the Eskimo ice cream. The berries had been frozen in the tundra over the winter, and were in excellent condition. There is at least one local hunter--a renowned good shot on land--who is a woman. She also hunts seal. Another woman said she likes to hook trout all summer.

Trapping

Some limited trapping took place the winter of 1984-85. By November one man had already caught 5 fox (estimated to sell for $70 each) and 15 mink ($25 to $45 each). In 1983 he had bagged 2 wolverine. In May 1985, he reported that his winter trapping season was "good": 2 cross fox worth about $100 each, 16 red fox at $60 to $80 each, 65 mink at $24 each, and 4 land otter at $20 each. He usually traps alone, but sometimes takes a grandson.

While it is clear that subsistence activity is on-going in Perryville, this data gives no indication how much is undertaken nor its relative significance to the local economy. That information will have to await the analysis by the state Department of Fish and Game. However, the original problem of a lack of game near the village has continued, and one must travel a considerable distance from Perryville to get to good hunting grounds.

Seasonality and Fluctuation

In our informal talks about winter and summer activities it was said there used to be greater variation than there is today. For illustration, in the 1950s in the summer only a couple of families stayed in the village while everyone else went to Chigniks. People commented they "used to" go to the Chigniks, but they don't anymore. One person who does go for the whole summer went over the list of Perryville families and identified those who go to Chignik Lagoon for the full summer and those who only go for a short visit. The former totaled 44% of the population (52 persons in ten households). Six families (a total of 37 persons) own homes at the Lagoon, whereas the others rent. Houses cost between $150 and $400 a month to rent.

At least 15 households now stay mostly in Perryville during the summer. Some of the women indicate they will go to the Lagoon if their husbands, who are crewing, call for them. But by and large these individuals prefer to stay at home in Perryville. Possible reasons may be related to the drinking that goes on at the Lagoon, or to the contrast in housing that makes the home village more comfortable, or to the great increase in Outsiders at the Lagoon which has made the social setting less pleasant than before. One family of six goes to Pilot Point, where the husband fishes with his wife's sister's husband. No one travels westward to fish at this point in time. The nearby Chignik fisheries were still strong in 1984.

Commercial Fishing

In 1912 at the time of the Katmai Eruption, few local Native men were involved in commercial fishing, but many were active in subsistence harvesting. In 1963, three Native men at Perryville were boat owners, and by 1985, seven local men had boats and permits. Some of the vessels were inherited, for example from a mother's brother who was a single man with no sons. Other boats or permits were leased from relatives like a father or adoptive grandfather or owned outright. In 1985, the average age of the seven men owning boats or permits was 37 years.

A crew usually is comprised of 4 men per boat, counting the captain. There may be exceptions especially when a man is training a younger crew member, or takes on additional relatives. Using these figures, the minimum number of fishermen who theoretically could be involved with the 7 Perryville boats is 28. For the summer of 1985, the likely crew members for the seven vessels were identified. The 24 crew names included 16 from Perryville, 3 from Anchorage, two from Ivanof Bay, and one each from Chignik Lake, Old Harbor, and, possibly, Akhiok. Under this projection, the total employed from Perryville would be at least 23 (16 crew and 7 boat captains). In other words, it was anticipated that about two-thirds of the crew would be drawn from the pool of local fishermen. The ages of 14 of the persons expected to crew out of the village were known, and they were young: an average of 23 years old. Whether there is a trend to employ younger crew, or whether the unidentified crew members are older, could not be clarified at the time.

However, it may be that the older and better trained crew members are accustomed to higher crew percentages from their village friends and relatives. But captains nowadays are facing additional costs for boat payments, insurance, food, fuel, and equipment. For example, one source reported it is customary to pay the insurance and boat payments, which can easily be over $15,000, out of the first few days' proceeds. And there are younger and eager Outsiders willing to crew for a lesser percentage than is local custom. All of these factors may be contributing to a trend to use younger crewmen. Certainly these considerations make it more difficult to hire and keep local, well-trained help throughout the whole season. One captain observed he had not had the same crew for a full season in three summers. One man who used to fish has four sons but none of them have permits or boats; however, all are trained as skiff men. Their crew rate used to be 20%; now, according to the father, some of his sons get 12%, the others 10%. One of the local men crews for a captain from Chignik Lagoon, for 12%. Another goes to Bristol Bay where he gets 20%.

The fishing history of a young man who began as a crew member when he was 14 years old is instructive. The first year he worked only nine days and earned $900. The next year, when he was 15, the price paid for fish was high ($1.50 a pound) and he earned $33,000. In the early 1980s his regular crew rate, which had been at 15% to 20%, was cut to 12%. In the mid-1980s he shifted to fishing for his brother-in-law; the established crew rate then was 12%. Now he reports it is hard for any crew member to make $30,000; perhaps in a good year $25,000 is still possible. In the meantime, he owes the equivalent of a full season's wages to the IRS because he failed to pay adequate taxes during the high years when he was in his teens. There was also a period of time when he got into drugs and alcohol, and spent lavishly in Anchorage; once he rented a taxi to take his family and friends to the State Fair in Palmer. Chances may be slim that he can catch up economically, especially with the penalty rate accumulating on his unpaid taxes. If there are poor years in the fishery, he feels he is likely not to be able to make it.

One person, reflecting on past practices, explained what he believed led the canneries to participate in discrimination against Native fisherman. Simply stated, he thought it was to the cannery's benefit to invest in a fisherman who needed lots of credit and wanted most of his profits in cash rather than in a fisherman who would be satisfied with less cash and more credit for groceries. For illustration, a boat owner from Outside had to work harder and make more money in order to live out of state; so if he wanted $50,000 in profits, he would have to ask for a big investment from the cannery. At the same time, by investing in the fishermen who needed this kind of credit, a cannery was guaranteed his fish. On the other hand, local fishermen would settle for $5000 total profit, and would take it as $2500 for supplies and $2500 cash. Overall, the local fisherman would not need as much credit, so the canneries had less of a hold over villagers who were content with less elegant boats and were not spurred to amass a lot of cash.

Commercial Fishing in 1963. For comparative purposes, here briefly summarized is information drawn from Kozely's data (Kozely 1963). At that time there were three boat owners and 27 fishermen in the village. Two were women who crewed with their husbands. Then, as now, the people fished for a cannery in Chignik (Alaska Packers Association), and in crews of 4 per boat. There were 4 ways to participate: use your own fishing boat, lease a company boat, "run the company boat," or crew with someone else. What was eliminated by 1985 is running a boat for the company, where the cannery paid for gear, fuel and food, in addition to the upkeep of the boat. The traditional fishing grounds for Perryville were from Kilokak Rocks east of Chignik Lagoon southwestward to Kupreanof Point in Ivanof Bay. Prices per fish for salmon in 1963 were:

Prices per fish for salmon in 1963 were:

1.	Reds (sockeye)	$1.38
2.	Pinks (humps)	.38
3.	Dogs (chums)	.58½

APA representatives indicated to Kozely that the gross earnings per boat averaged about $21,000, and the average net personal income per man, before taxes, was about $3,500; the latter sum was more than what most fishermen told Kozely ($2,000 to $2,500), but this may hinge on different understandings of net before and after taxes. The 1963 income to the village from fishing was estimated to be $98,000. At that time some residents were working for wages in the cannery, and there were at least two local jobs: school janitor and postmaster. Kozely estimated the per capita income for Perryville at about $900; the 1962 state-wide average was $2,610 (Kozely 1963:19-20).

Businesses, Jobs and Costs

Aside from fishing, local business enterprises in 1984-85 included the store, rental units, a new garage, and the motel. The present store was opened in 1969, though stores had been attempted earlier but apparently failed. (See the letter from the store manager included in Kozely's report). Now, the village president and his brother-in-law are partners in the store, which is reported to have been operating at a loss for years. The brother of the president holds store hours for no pay, with the assistance of his wife. Store hours are indicated by turning on a light on the roof, a signal most villagers can see. In November, less than one third of the store appeared stocked. In May, there were even fewer items, especially food, to choose from. For example, not available in May was canned or fresh milk, butter, pilot bread, peanut butter, sugar, flour, fruit, hamburger or chicken. In contrast, the Ivanof Bay store was better stocked, and some families in Perryville ordered from there, paid the freight, and claimed that prices were still lower than at the local store.

The two apartments were rented to the teachers, reportedly for $400 a month. For visitors, motel rooms rented for $37 a night (payable to the Village of Perryville). Boris Kosbruk, the local entrepreneur, owned these buildings and was putting up a shop/garage in the fall of 1984. For this construction, he hired three or four people, including a single man from Port Lions. Two local women crocheted and sold their art items out of their homes, or in Chignik in the summer.

Jobs. In addition to those jobs associated with the local businesses, there were at least 14 others available to Perryville residents. These included:

Postmistress
Peninsula Air local service agent

Health aide and alternate
Fee agent
Maintenance man for the water line
Village clerk.

All but the postmistress' were part-time jobs. There were eight jobs related to the school held by local Native residents:

Position	Hours/week	Salary
Custodian	10	$8.81
Custodian	20	9.87
Cook	27.5	9.93
Library Aide	15	8.30
Recreation Aide [2 positions]	15	8.81
Adult instructor	6	10.34

The teachers' and the secretary's position (20 hours/week at $10.49/hr) were filled by non-Natives.

Costs. In 1963, fuel cost $14.56 a drum; in 1984, oil cost $1.45/gal. or $79.75 a barrel. In the Dock Feasibility Study, it was estimated the village uses about 60,000 gals. a year (Alaska Department of Transportation and Public Facilities 1984:12). One man estimated it cost $2000 a year to heat his house. Other 1984 prices included $1.50 a gallon for gasoline; there were 7 trucks and 48 operating three-wheelers in the village. Electricity was 37 cents a kilowatt/hr. One person reported a $90 per month electricity bill; his telephone bill for September-October was $490. A trip by boat from Perryville to Chignik cost an estimated $150 one way for fuel; the trip requires three men and takes two days (7 hours each way). Six of the 7 Perryville boats were stored westward at Sand Point which is about 30 miles farther away than Chignik. One locally-owned car, that was delivered on the North Star, cost $13,000.

Food can be bought from a number of sources. One family indicated they must buy food from a store now "because of the grandchildren." They give about 90% of their business to the local store, occasionally placing orders by phone to Patricks in Anchorage. Other families order from Span Alaska, Alaska Grocers and Shippers, King Salmon Commercial Company, and Archie and Punkie's store in Ivanof Bay. One teacher-family ordered primarily from Prairie Market in Anchorage. An example of the costs added to an order from King Salmon reveals how expensive food can be. The groceries are weighed before boxing, and then a charge by pound is added to the retail store price, with a minimum of $10 per box. The shipping is 59 cents a pound for Perryville and Ivanof and 54 cents a pound for Chignik Bay. The buyers pay by cash, money orders or credit cards.

Here are the prices on a few items available in the Perryville store:

Coffee	Hillsboro	3 lbs.	$12.50
Eggs		dozen	2.00
Loaf of bread	Sunrise	24 oz	1.75
Pop		12 oz. can	.75
Hot dog buns		6	2.40
Pampers	Newborn	30	6.90

The cost of another item was volunteered: 1/4 ounce of marijuana, which would cost $60 in Anchorage, could be bought in Perryville for $150.

The Future

The dock and harbor. The problem of the location of Perryville was first noted when it was established in 1912 (see discussion, pg. 9 above, under history section for Ivanof Bay); the location was a critical factor in discussions in 1963 (Kozely 1963); and it continued to be vexing in 1985. In the eyes of the residents the greatest need for physical facilities is a dock and harbor. A dock feasibility study, completed in 1984, confirmed the need, and identified two different sites (Alaska Department of Transportation and Public Facilities 1984). Estimated costs were $2.64 to $4 million. Currently, six fishermen store their boats at Sand Point and one at Chignik Bay. And the cost of getting oil into the village is great. Considering factors like these, the study estimated that a dock facility could save the village about $15,000 a year.

Perryville is now served by Alaska Standard, a ship which is 256 feet long, and by the North Star, which is 455 feet long. Lighterage service for the North Star is $308 per hour. Barging goods to the village is difficult, as well as expensive. In the spring of 1984, the village ran low on fuel oil and bought some 40 barrels from Chignik Bay that were delivered by private boat. The only way to get the barrels to shore was to throw them overboard and let the surf carry them to where the villagers could retrieve them. Not everyone was out of oil in May, 1984. One private tank had been filled with 600 gallons, enough to last through the summer and into the fall. From this supply, a resident who was out of oil was given two barrels. There were 5 private fuel tanks belonging to local boat owners.

Social Stratification. In an attempt to identify possible changes in the social and economic separation between people and families, the following chart was prepared; it provides some indices of stratification based on the possession of material items.

Family	No. of houses	Total members	Fishing Permits	Hondas	Hondas per household
1	9	45 (41%)	2	18 (39%)	2
2	10	33 (30%)	3	13 (28%)	1.3
3	5	20 (18%)	0	9 (19%)	1.8
4	3	12 (11%)	2	6 (13%)	2

Inspecting this table indicates that owning Hondas did not differentiate the families who had permits from those that did not. The distribution of three-wheelers matches the population distribution fairly well with each household owning between 1 and 2 vehicles. Not shown on the table, however, are trucks and airplanes. These clearly separated the permit holders from the rest of the village. Only permit owners had trucks and airplanes (there are 7 trucks and 2 planes). Finally, only permit holders had their own fuel storage tanks. It may well be then that increasing economic separation is occurring. In the spring a few families were borrowing oil and food from other families. Some families are building their new homes away from the main core of the village. Such changes could be the result of the permit and boat owner situation.

Next the question might be asked: If increased social stratification intensifies conflict in a small village--especially one that still values the equalitarian ethic of the olden days--does this explain the distress people expressed about what was happening concerning drinking and drugs? The possibility seems reasonable, at least to account for part of the distress. But there are additional explanations for the sense of imminent crisis, almost a "doomsday" aura, that should be considered. First of all, this is one of the most tectonically active areas of the world. A tremendous volcanic eruption, including a fall of three feet of ash and pelting by small pieces of volcanic stone, occurred in 1912; this event was experienced by four of the present residents, and by the close relatives and ancestors of a high percentage of the village.

Subsequent to the natural disaster, the people were relocated at a relatively poor site (compared to other places along the north Pacific coast). At the time they were evacuated, they had no idea what was going to happen to them. Since this series of events, there have been many more earthquakes and rumblings of volcanic activity; the village is, after all, located at the foot of Mt. Veniaminof. A few years ago when it threatened to erupt, the residents hastened over to Chignik Lagoon, which though closer to the volcano at least had more people present. The element of fear was clearly present then and remains in those who recall the event. The distress expressed by residents about drinking episodes, which are reported to be increasingly violent, may be enhancing a more generalized fear, a fear of disaster.

Secondly, other tragedies have occurred. Men have drowned, disappeared. In 1983, a fire took the lives of five villagers, all from one family: a man, his son, two granddaughters, and a great grandson. In 1985 two young boys disappeared off a skiff in Chignik Lagoon. Disaster seems to have struck Perryville many times. There may be a basis in reality for their ominous feelings. In addition, the villagers never have been happy with their location. It did not meet with their original expectations and nothing it seemed could be done about it - other than move to Ivanof Bay. Some 40 individuals did just that in 1965. For the remainder, perhaps living at Perryville with all its problems was safer, less risk-filled than moving. The stress felt by the village and reflected both in reported increased drinking, drugs and violence and in the sense of imminent crisis, may be the most familiar way of life. And coping with this kind of uncertainty may now be a local cultural pattern.

OCS development. When asked what they thought about possible oil and gas development, seven different adults indicated they thought it was a good thing, or at least "OK." No one was very positive nor outspokenly negative. One fisherman thought it would be "just a matter of time and luck before an earthquake disrupted a line." Another was hopeful, "By the volcano there has got to be oil." The discussion on this topic was not extensive, but there did not seem to be a keen interest in leaving the village for a job elsewhere.

Chignik Lake

INTRODUCTION

Description

The largest permanent winter village in the Chignik subregion is Chignik Lake, a relatively new community established in the late 1950s. On May 2, 1985 a total of 160 residents lived in 34 households. There were eleven individuals who owned limited entry fishing permits. All but five families moved to Chignik Lagoon for the summer months; most of these have homes on the cannery (CWF) or eastern side of the Lagoon.

Of the five villages on the south side of the Peninsula, the Lake is closest to, and has the best weather for transportation in and out of King Salmon. This access is an important consideration for the delivery of health services and for obtaining goods and services out of Anchorage. In 1985 the village appeared to be dynamic, proud of its new church and school; with its leaders displaying a conscious effort to be supportive--though cautious--of modernization opportunities.

Distribution of Houses. The distance from one end of the village to the other is about 3700 feet, not quite 3/4 a mile. At one end, where the Lake enters the river, is a group of three occupied homes, banyas, sheds, and other buildings. Here lived Dora and John Andre, Dora's nephew Harry Aleck and his son, Jack, and Dora and John's daughter Annie Takak and her husband Afonie Takak. "Up the line," meaning a trail going up and over a hill, is the next cluster of houses. These were occupied primarily by the Odomins.

Then comes the main part of the village. It includes the school complex and several large, new homes. These houses have been placed near the older lakeside buildings, many of which were abandoned when the new homes were constructed. The three Kalmakoff brothers, their families and their widowed mother were clustered quite close to each other. Bill and Doris Lind, four sons, and a daughter, each with their families, were living in six houses at the northeastern end of the village near the airstrip. Most of the homes are within 100 to 200 feet of each other. The distribution of households, the relative closeness of kinship groups, and the overall distance between the ends of the village reflect both the resident's sense of strong family orientation and their regard for independence, autonomy and privacy.

References

Only two resources on Chignik Lake were available at the time of this report. One, the village profile, was prepared by Environmental Services Ltd. in 1982 (Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1982). It is a comprehensive overview of the village and because it was so recently prepared and is readily available, its information is not repeated here. The second reference is in the Minerals Management Service's Technical Report Number 74, prepared by Impact Assessment Inc. (Petterson et. al 1982:162-192). Petterson visited the village in the early 1980s.

Because so little basic information is available on the village, considerable effort has been made here to analyze the data gathered during the two short field visits.

Field Visits

The first field trip afforded approximately two days in the village; it lasted from noon November 15 through the morning of November 17, 1984. Eight informal discussions were held at that time. The weather was wet and windy. A return trip was made May 3-5, 1985, for an additional three days. At that time six discussions were held, and a day was spent in the school working with 6 through 8th grade students on a village census. The snow was melting, the ice was going out of the Lake, and men were heading out of the village to get their boats, most of which were stored at the Chignik Lagoon cannery. It was time to begin to get them ready for the coming season. Families were taking a run down the river to their summer homes in anticipation of the end of school, and their imminent migration. It was a busy time at Chignik Lake. In all, 14 discussions were held, involving a total of 20 residents. Ten were men, with an average age of 41, and ten were women, average age of 49. Included were four married couples, three elders, four permit owners, the village president, and vice president, and two single men in their early twenties. Participants encompassed members of 13 different households (43% of the 30 Native homes); these households have 75 people (50% of the Native population of the village). In addition, the school principal and four teachers were contacted; though no formal discussions were held with them, they added to our understanding of the community, and lent insight to some of the dynamic aspects of the present village.

HISTORY

Little is known about the history of the people who eventually settled at Chignik Lake. They seem to have come from two locations, one on the Bristol Bay coast of the peninsula, the village of Ilnik, now abandoned; and the other, the old village near the spit where Chignik Lagoon narrows to a channel leading into Chignik Bay. Remnants of some buildings can still be seen at the latter site. The church records reportedly have been removed to Anchorage; however, the ikons, which were placed first in the old church at the Lake, now are in the new St. Nicholas Orthodox church. Although families from the Lagoon compose the largest contingency of new immigrants to the Lake, it is quite possible that Ilnik people used to migrate in the summer to the Lagoon, meeting and sometimes marrying other Russian Orthodox Koniag Natives there.

The mobility of the people is illustrated in the background of Dora Artemie Lind Andre. Her father, Rodeonoff Artemie, was originally from the area of Old Harbor on Kodiak Island. Rodeonoff's first cousin was the father of Larry Matfay, at the time of this study the oldest resident of Old Harbor. The present descendants of Rodeonoff living at Chignik Lake thus are linked to the Matfay family in Old Harbor, who were originally from Akhiok and Karluk. The links go back to the turn of the 20th century.

Near the end of the 19th century, Rodeonoff went from Kodiak Island to the Bristol Bay area, where he met the parents of Dora's mother, Natalia Abrom, who was born in Ugashik. Natalia's parents encouraged Rodeonoff to rescue their daughter from an arranged marriage. And that is what he did. The couple must have remained on the Bristol Bay area of the Peninsula for a while because Dora was born at Bear River, a now abandoned village between Port Moller and Port Heiden. Dora's brother, Willie Artemie, moved to Perryville when he married. His first spouse was Polly Kalmakoff, and they had one known living daughter, Janet. She has two sons named Robert and Cabe. Willie Artemie's second marriage was to Nadia Shangin, the sister of Paul Shangin--who in 1985 was the oldest resident of Perryville. Willie and Nadia had two children now living at Chignik Lake, Christina Artemie Martin and Emil Artemie. Thus through Willie and Nadia, the social links to Perryville were established.

The links between Kodiak and the Chignik area must have continued through Rodeonoff, because Dora recalls how her father's relatives would send them goods from the Island. And extensive ties link Chignik Lake to Akhiok. Dora's sister, Mary Artemie, married a man from that area; and her son, Teacon Peterson (Dora's nephew) married Ephrazinia of Karluk and their descendants are now residents of Akhiok. In summary, through the three known descendants of Rodeonoff and Natalia Abrom, a complex network of social links were created early in the 20th century. Through Mary, an Akhiok connection; through Willie, a Perryville link, and through Dora, a Chignik Lake connection.

Dora, who was born in 1903, had a total of four months formal education - two months for two summers at the Lagoon. Her teacher was Mrs. Olson. Dora grew up in a sod house which had no stove. Before Dora married, she recalls her family had two cows "down the bay" (meaning Chignik Bay). Her father had a friend who bought the calves in the fall from the cannery. In order to feed their workers, the cannery brought in live animals in the spring. The goats, ducks, sheep, geese and cows would then be butchered over the summer; and, at the end of the season, whatever was left would be sold or given away. This apparently was how a chicken-raising tradition was established; "Everyone used to have chickens." Dora recalls how the mail boat used to come once a month. The seasonal life when she was young included several months at the Lagoon, followed by a move to the Lake during the fall for trapping and fall fishing. The Lake area was a seasonal camp until she and her family settled the area in the late 1950's or early 1960's.

Settlement of Chignik Lake

The eventual transformation of Chignik Lake from a trapping camp to a permanent winter village is related in part to the school, and in part to the church. First of all, says Dora Lind, "They tried to move us across the Lagoon to the school there. We didn't have no place across there if we moved there." Also the Lake residents were reluctant to move to the Lagoon because they wanted to keep their community Russian Orthodox. So Dora and her children circulated a petition to get a school, and moved to the Lake to build it themselves. Before that, their children had been going to school in the winter at Port Heiden and Pilot Point.

Annie Takak was to be the teacher. At one point, according to Dora, some missionaries flew in, held a meeting, and announced they were going to build a school at the Lake. Dora told them the residents were going to get a school their way, and the villagers did not let the missionaries stay. Apparently there has not been a missionary stationed at the Lake since this episode. Thus, it appears the settlement of Chignik Lake was inspired both by the need for local schooling of the children and by a conscious desire to keep the families united in one church.

Recent History

The following is a chronological reconstruction of a few key developments that have influenced the modernization of the village:

1972	Runway constructed
1974	Community Hall built
1977	Village telephone installed
1979	Water and sewer system established
1980	Television
1982	Gymnasium built
1982	Fire truck purchased
1983	New school built
1983	Alascom Satellite station established
1984	Dump truck expected

The community had received about $130,000 in revenue sharing funds, self determination funds, and legislative appropriations over these years to help manage the projects. Additional funds were anticipated for the year 1984-85, including $750,000 to resurface the airstrip, $400,000 for trails and roads, $14,000 to renovate the community hall, and $14,000 for repair and renovation of the washeteria. Applications also had been filed for 18 HUD houses.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Demography

The population of Chignik Lake on May 2, 1985 was 160 residents. These people lived in 34 households, an average of 4.7 individuals per house. This average was down from a 1967 estimate of 6 per household. Of the residents, ten were non-Native. Two of the non-Natives would be considered permanent residents, married and maintaining their homes at the Lake. The eight others included six teachers in the school and the two children of one couple. These eight comprised 4 households. The remainder of this analysis is devoted to the 152 residents (including the two non-Native residents) found in the 30 permanent households.

Several combinations of relatives characterized the households. In a little over half the cases (53%) was a simple nuclear family, i.e. parents and children. There was one elderly man and wife who no longer had children living at home; and one person was living alone, but she was surrounded by relatives. Other households had combinations that included three generations.

For example, along with the parents and children, a wife's father; or in another case, her brother as well; or a daughter's daughter along with the main group; and in another case a grandson. There were two single men and their sons, and a single woman and her children. Three other households included other, collateral relatives, such as a wife's cousin, or a wife's brother's son.

1967 census data. A village census was taken on April 26, 1967 by Emil Artemie. He kindly shared it with N. Davis on May 4, 1985. The following is a summary of an analysis of that data. In 1967 this relatively new village had 135 residents. They lived in 22 households which ranged in size from 2 to 18 inhabitants. The average number of persons per household at that time was 6.14. The residents of Chignik Lake had come from 12 different locations other than the Lake. They had been born in Chignik Lagoon, Chignik Bay, Ilnik, Perryville, Kanatak, Katmai, Kodiak, Cold Bay, Port Moller, Bear River, Sand Point and the hospital in Kanakanak at Dillingham. Almost two-thirds (64%) of the households involved only nuclear families. Two were made up of only a man and wife, with no children; and two included only the father and his children. One grandmother was raising some of her grandchildren, but that was only a 2-generation household because the parents of the children were not present. Finally, two households included relatives of the head of the house--in one case a brother and sister of the husband, while in the other case the husband's brother.

Some additional information can be gleaned from the data on birthplaces. For example, 11 villagers were born in Ilnik, but no one was born there after 1953. This suggests that Ilnik was abandoned about 1954. Also, the last children born during the winter at Chignik Lagoon were born in 1962, suggesting that Chignik Lake had become an established winter village by that time. On the other hand, children continued to be born at the Lagoon during the summer, confirming this cannery town as the summer village. No children had been born during the summer at the Lakes as of 1967. Twelve residents were from Perryville, but again none were born there during the summer. Of the eight identifying their birthplace as Chignik Bay, six were born there during the summer, again indicating the summer residence of the parents.

Beginning in 1957, some children were born at Kanakanak, the Alaska Native Hospital at Dillingham. However, it apparently was not a popular, or perhaps was not a convenient, place to go until 1963. Then between 1963 and 1967, 20 births were reported there, distributed evenly throughout the year. Where the oldest residents came from is especially interesting. One woman was born in 1903 at Bear River, which is located between Port Moller and Port Heiden on the Bristol Bay side of the Peninsula. Two other residents came from Port Moller (born in 1913 and 1928). After that, there were no more migrants from this area. Another two were born at Katmai before the 1912 Eruption--one in the winter of 1896 and the other in the spring of 1911, confirming Katmai was a winter village.

An inspection of the different locations of births in one family reveals the mobility of village life. The mother of 16 children over a twenty year period had her infants in four different locations. Four were born at the Lake--3 in the winter (1948, 1953, 1967) and 1 in the fall (1964). One was born in the spring at the Bay (1950), and ten were born at the Lagoon--in the fall (1952), the spring (1955), and eight in the summer (between 1956 and 1963); and finally--one was born in Dillingham in the fall (1965).

1985 data. Some interesting changes occurred between 1967 and 1985. Although the total number has not changed radically--the 1985 count of 152 is only 17 more than the total of 135 reported in 1967--there has been far more change than a simple increase of 17 new residents. Six individuals have died, and five whole families have gone elsewhere, an outmigration of 32 persons. Seventy two, or 53%, of the residents who were living at Chignik Lake in 1967 were not there eighteen years later. Looking at it another way, there had to be an increase of 89 new residents to account for the 1985 total.

As noted, in 1967, the residents had come from 12 different locations. In 1985 this diversity had increased to 17 places. One of the additions was Anchorage, where 24 babies were born between the years of 1968 and 1984, presumably at the Public Health Service Hospital. The practice of having babies in hospitals now seems well established. It is reflected in the number of current residents of the Lake who were born in Kanakanak, the Public Health Service hospital near Dillingham now operated by the Bristol Bay Native Health Association (BBNHA). Between 1960 and 1980, a total of 21 (18%) of the current residents were born there. Combined, 39% of the Chignik Lake residents for whom we have 1985 data (115 out of the total of 152) were born in hospitals. Still the largest number were born in the Chigniks: at the Lagoon, primarily in the summer (24%); at the Lake (12%--including the years 1962 to 1980); and the Bay (4%). All told, 41% of the current residents reported they were born in one of the Chigniks. Add to these the 45 born in hospitals and we have accounted for 92 individuals, 80% of the residents for which birth data is available.

The remainder came from many different places. Four individuals were from the three west coast peninsula villages of Kanatak (1), Perryville (2) and Cold Bay (1). Three young women were born in villages farther north: Bethel, Levelock, and Alegnagik. Four residents hail from the Kodiak Island area, Kodiak city (2), Woody Island (1) and Afognak (1). Finally, two were born Stateside, in Washington and California. As diverse as all of these places sound, all but four locations (stateside, Bethel, Levelock and Alegnagik) are within what is believed to be the original boundaries of the Koniag people. In sum, 110 (96%) or the 115 residents for which we have birthplace data may be presumed to be Koniag descendants (including the Kanakanak and Anchorage hospital births).

The birthplace of both man and wife was known for 22 marriages. Analysis of this data reveals that three couple were married elsewhere and moved to Chignik Lake. Of the remaining 19, only 3 were endogamous, i.e. both were from local families. Five (26%) were matrilocal, - men from elsewhere moved to Chignik Lake, and 11 (58%) were patrilocal - the women came from elsewhere. This contrasts with a higher incidence of endogamous marriages at Perryville, where 64% involved local individuals, and nine women from other places married into Perryville, making 36% patrilocal.

Kinship and family

As already noted in the history section, kinship played a pervasive role in the shaping of the contemporary village at Chignik Lake. Kinship partly determined housing location, influences support systems, and provides special links both within a community and beyond it. It is the unique nature of kinship that characterizes small, relatively isolated villages in the north.

There are four major family groups at Chignik Lake; they take in 29 households (97%) and 139 (91%) of the residents:

	Households		Individuals	
Family Name	Number	%	Total	%
Lind/Andre	12	40%	52	34%
Odomin	9	30%	48	32%
Kalmakoff	4	13%	21	14%
Aleck	4	13%	25*	16%
	29		146*	

*One household (7 people) overlaps with Lind

In addition there is a three generation family of 10 who have no direct genetic ties to the village, but who are linked to Afognak/Port Lions on Kodiak to the southeast and to Port Moller (now abandoned) to the northwest. A brother of the wife of this family married into the village and in this way the rest of the family has an important social tie.

Finally, it seemed there was an anomaly: a white pilot and his Yupik wife from Levelock. However, I believe the wife has a sister in the village who is married to an Odomin. Anyone marrying into the village can be immediately linked to as many as one-third of the residents, and if there are connections through several generations, to an even higher proportion; so the connection may not be so anomalous after all.

The Lind/Andre family. In 1985 the descendants of Rodeonoff Artemie and Natalia Abrom's daughter and two sons numbered 82, or 54% of the residents. They included the following:

Dora Andre [daugh.]	12 households	52 persons (34%)
Alec Artemie [son]	4 households	25 persons (16%)
Willie Artemie [son]	2 households	5 persons (3%)
	18 households	82 persons (54%)

When the sisters of John Andre are added to the list of major families in the Lakes, then an additional nine more households and 48 persons, 32% of the 1985 population are added. In all, at least 130 persons or 86% of the village can trace their kinship back to four key persons: Dora, Alec and Willie Artemie and John Andre.

Dora's first husband was Fred Lindholm (the name was shortened to Lind). He was born in Mitrofania, a community since abandoned. His parents were Oscar Lindholm from Sweden and Annie, who was a Native woman. Fred had three sisters: two older ones, Albertina and Beulah and a younger one, Luba. Albertina married Peter Anderson from the Lagoon. Beulah married Alec Brandal, whose son Alec Brandal still lives at the Lagoon. The third sister, Luba, moved outside. Fred and Dora had six children: Andrew, Mary, Fred, Bill, Peter, and Sophie. Mary and Bill live at Chignik Lake. Fred II married Annie Yagie of Perryville, and they had nine children--Valentina, now living in Texas; Elliot of Chignik Lake; Claudia who married a man from Chignik Bay where she now lives; Larry, of Kodiak; Orville of Port Heiden; Fred III, married to a woman from Bethel/Sleetmute, living with their 3 sons in Chignik Lake; Ricky of Dillingham; Patrick, in military service; and Joe who lives in Anchorage. The total of Dora and Fred Lind's descendants from this one son, Fred II, is 31, counting spouses, grandchildren and great grandchildren.

Fred was Dora's first husband; he was a trapper and hunter. When he died, the oldest of their children was 14, and apparently someone made an effort to get the family to move to Chignik Lagoon so the children could go to school. However, Dora did not want to move there, and so the effort began to get the school at the Lake. During this time, Dora was looking after her elderly father, who lived until he was 88 years old. John Andre, a friend of the family, helped her take care of her father. For example, he would carry Mr. Artemie to the steam bath when the elder was unable to make it on his own. By the tone of respect in Dora's voice, one could tell how much she appreciated his assistance. Apparently, Dora's father instructed her to marry John Andre if he asked. He did, and she did.

Dora had an older sister, Katie. She married Wassilly, but they both drowned in a tragic bidarka accident in the Lagoon area shortly after they were married. They had no children. Dora also had a younger sister, Martha who died at the age of 13. Another brother, Aleck Artemie, had two children: Lisa and Harry. Lisa married Alec Abyo on the Bristol Bay side of the Peninsula. Harry married Christina Constantine, who is since deceased, but Harry and several of his children continue to live in Chignik Lake. They represent the Ilnik connection. His living children include Jack, Nick, Mary Aleck Constantine and Maggie Aleck Odomin.

John Andre was born at Chignik Bay in 1906. His parents were Andrean Andre and Massa, "Martha," the daughter of Nicoli Panenchen. John had two sisters, Martha who married Andrew Constantine, and Figly who married Nick Odomin, Sr. (he was born in Katmai). Nick and Figly had at least two children who survived: Annie, who married Bill Anderson of Chignik Bay and Nick "Buddy" Odomin who married Maggie Aleck of Ilnik (Dora's brother 's daughter). After Figly died, Nick Sr. married Oxcemia Constantine, his first wife's sister's daughter. Oxcemia's brother, John Constantine married Mary Aleck. John Andre and Dora Artemie Lind had five daughters and one son. They are Jenny, who married Orin Seybert (owners of Peninsula Airlines); Annie, who married Afonie Takak, (president of Chignik Lake village council); Sophie, who married Andrew Abyo; Evelyn, who married Boris Kosbruk (village president of Perryville); Lena who married Wilbert Anderson of Chignik Bay, and Alfred who married Joyce of Fairbanks. Annie and Lena both live at Chignik Lake, and both have four children.

Summer village

It was readily confirmed that in the summer most people leave Chignik Lake and move to their summer homes on Chignik Lagoon. One elder goes there and no longer commercial fishes, but instead smokes, cans, and kippers fish, and picks berries. One woman crews with her husband, and another said, "I stay home," but when asked if she meant the Lake, she said, no she stays "home at the Lagoon." This and one other reference to "here at the village" meaning both the Lagoon and the Lake suggests that the two are extremely closely linked in people's minds. The village of "Chignik Lake" is not just the winter village site at Chignik Lake, it is also the summer village at Chignik Lagoon, on the CWF or "cannery side." This would appear to be the situation for everyone except for one family of six who have a home near other relatives from the Bay--on the "flat side."

Although an initial impression is given that "everyone goes" to the Lagoon, in fact at least five households stay at the Lake. These families total only about 20 persons (13% of the residents) but this percentage may change over time as other families respond to new opportunities that sometimes open up in the village. One family stays because the father has a job working part-time at the school, another takes care of the mail while the regular postmistress is at the Lagoon, one young family does not go probably because they do not yet have a place to stay at the Lagoon. And, finally, three of the older people reportedly stay most of the summer in the winter village. How much coming and going takes place over the summer is unknown, but it would be important to document this seasonal migration. The fish processing plant and its associated store are only about ten miles away, down the river, and traffic back and forth may actually be quite extensive both during the summer and the winter.

The Church

The significance of the church in the founding and continuity of the village was established earlier in the History section. In recent years a new Orthodox Church building has been constructed next to the old church. Orville Seybert, an owner of Peninsula Airways and married to the eldest of the Andre sisters, donated a good portion of the lumber. Labor was contributed locally to the effort. (In Kodiak, at a Koniag potlatch, I met a man who used to live at the Lake and who remembered with pride working on the new building.) The carpet was new and the altar cloths and other appointments were beautifully decorated by local women. The ikons are ones originally housed in the old church near the Lagoon spit. The congregation is served by lay leadership, with occasional visits by a priest. A resident priest lived in the community during part of 1983-84, and the villagers hoped another would soon come. A cake-walk to raise money for the church had brought in about $3000. Also in the spring of 1985, a hamburger shop was temporarily opened in a local home to raise money for the church.

The School

Like the church, the importance of the school in the founding of the village has already been discussed. Today, the school is a large, modern complex including a two-storey classroom building, a gym, wood shop, greenhouse, and teacher's quarters. The community recently went through a difficult time of conflict with some school personnel in the early 1980s, but with new leadership it appeared things were turning around in 1984-85. A growing respect for the building and the educational efforts was obvious on the part of the villagers. The enrollment in November 1984 was 53, including 11 high school students. This means about 35% of all residents in the community were students in the school. In working with seven students in the 6th, 7th and 8th grades as part of this project, it was learned that those seven students represented over 1/3 of the village households.

The local advisory school committee in many ways is equivalent to a local school board. Afonie Takak (who was also village president) was chairman; members included Jan Lind, a young woman who had married into the village from the Calista area; Joan Orloff, originally from Afognak; and Dan Johnson, the local pilot who came from California. The community school program was headed by Lena Andre Anderson, the local postmistress.

Health

The health clinic is leased from the U. S. Public Health Service through the Anchorage office; however, the employment of the health aides is through the Bristol Bay Native Health board. Nana Takak was the health aide in the spring of 1985; Kathy Lind was the alternate. One traditional way of thinking about health was to tie work and health together. This point of view from the old days was also found in a Chugach study (North Pacific Rim Health Department 1977). Feona Shangin, age 65, recently moved up from the Lagoon to live in a house next to her daughter and grandchildren. With pride she recalled packing water and wood (this was the first winter when she would not). "My body hurts when I don't work. I get stiff," she commented. Several younger women spontaneously mentioned how they used to haul water, and how from time to time they miss that activity.

Social Events

In addition to school and church events, there are other occasions for social activities. For example, parties are put on in honor of a person's Name Day (either the actual birthday anniversary or the named Saint's day). These can be elaborate events with a great spread of food; one party included, for example, dried fish, boiled ham, potato salad, moose stew, fish pie and (canned) blueberry pie. Spontaneous evenings of music with guitar, organ, and accordion take place, especially in the Lind family.

Probably the single most frequent social event throughout the village is taking "steams" or "banyus." There are 14 separate banyu houses in the village and a "steam" can easily take an hour to an hour and a half. Visiting also is an active form of socializing, and at any one time it seems some households have a continuous flow of people in and out. These social centers include the Anderson home, which is also the post office, and next door at

"Aunt Mary's house." Not only do people visit within the village, but also relatives come from other villages. Because there can be as many as a half-dozen people visiting, taking an accurate census count can be difficult. For example, in November I met Oxcemia of Chignik Lake visiting her daughter and grandchildren at Perryville. Boris Kosbruk and two sons from Perryville were met visiting at Chignik Lake. Relatives from the Bay were found lounging in living rooms at the Lake, and vice-versa.

A detailed analysis of visiting patterns was not attempted, but it is clearly suggested that who visits whom, and how often, has important implications for the continuity of social ties; and there could well be economic ramifications. Without doubt, the airplane has facilitated inter-village travel. In summary, family, school and church were the focus of many social activities, and the church theme seemed stronger here than at some other places in the north Pacific. Also here, as in Perryville, there seemed to be few community-wide events. "Not like down the Bay," someone commented, where many organized social activities are known to take place. At the Lake it seemed family was the key theme and, as we have noted, for good reason--nearly everyone had lots of family.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Relatively little new information was obtained about the political structure. The researcher did not investigate this area in detail for several reasons. First was the sensitivity of the issues; second was the fact the villagers prefer to minimize political involvement, in keeping with the traditional autonomy of household-family affairs. The following general observations and analysis are based on the understandings of the community that were possible from the limited data available.

The Council

For many years the council was led by Bill Lind, the eldest son of Dora Lind Andre, as president. In 1981 the council included his half sister's husband, Afonie Takak, as vice president; his son's wife as secretary and treasurer; a nephew; a son; and a member of the Odomin family. During the last few years, the council has managed to bring in a number of state contracts with the help of Lola Lind, a former school teacher, who has been an effective and well organized secretary/treasurer for the group.

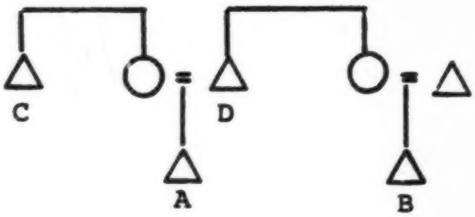
Several future improvements for the village were being reviewed by the council. Expected to be installed soon was a bulk fuel storage facility, which will ease the problem of bringing oil up the river in small quantities from the Lagoon. A garbage pick-up service was being discussed with BBNA. Construction of a post office building was being considered, and the possibility of a community light plant was under advisement.

In the fall of 1984, a new council was elected. Bill Lind stepped down from the presidency, and Afonie Takak succeeded him. Jan Lind was elected vice president, Lola Lind continued as secretary-treasurer, James Odomin continued as member and Virginia Aleck was chosen as a new member. She is the eldest granddaughter of Dora Andre, and an active hunter, trapper, and church leader. Two facts are worth noting about the council: first, three of the five members are individuals who married into the village (Afonie, Jan and Lola); and second, three were women: Lola, Jan and Virginia. The average age of the new council was 36; not much different from the former council's average of 38 years.

Afonie Takak had shown leadership over the years in other capacities, for example as chairman of the advisory school board and as chairman of a Fish and Game Advisory Commission. Although enrolled elsewhere, he also served on the village corporation board. He was raised by Father Kaiakokonok of Perryville, and lived in Kodiak for 16 years. There is a kinship link between Afonie Takak and Fred Zharoff, the district's state Senator. The second wife of Afonie's father was Zharoff's sister.

Some insight into earlier political dynamics in the community was provided by a former village president and secretary. At the age of 60, he was no longer active in local politics. Also he seemed to have had more experience outside the village than most men or women of his generation. After hospitalization in Sitka, he went to California where he was, among other things, a gardener; then he returned in the mid-1960s to the Lake. In the following years, he was active in village affairs, operated the local radio (before the telephone came in), and was on the school board. He also served as a welfare agent.

However, he encountered some conflict with his first cousin (his father's sister's son). He had been raised in Perryville by his mother's brother, and on his arrival in Chignik Lake, he did not get along with his cousin who was but a few years younger. This kind of conflict would be expected in a traditionally matrilineal system. That is, the cousin (B) raised at Chignik Lake was probably closer to his mother's brother (D) than that uncle's real son (A), who was raised elsewhere by his mother's brother (C).



If the social structure had included a clan arrangement, then the political differences would also have been explained by the fact the two men would be in opposite moieties (divisions), common in North American matrilineal societies.

Some Chignik Lake leaders, like others met in the process of this research, had been active in village and regional affairs early in the 1970s, but now have dropped out. The village has been sending a representative to the Bristol Bay Native Association. Elia Lind, formerly on the village council, served in that capacity in 1985, and he admits he was "trying to figure out what is going on."

Land Issues

A higher level of awareness and greater interest in land issues was found at Chignik Lake than at some of the other villages in the study area. Certainly a larger number of individuals filed for Native allotments, compared to other communities. Here at least 21 individuals filed for 66 different parcels encompassing approximately 2,392 acres. An illustration of the residents' awareness was the action taken when corporation land was trespassed. In the spring of 1984, 16 bear hunters were reportedly camped on corporation land on Clark's River. Villagers called state troopers and left warning notes on the hunter's plane and in their camp. Later, in the fall of 1984, caribou hunters had taken horns and abandoned the meat, again reportedly on corporation land, and this too was reported to law enforcement personnel.

Chignik Lake representatives have been active in testifying on wildlife refuge management plans, further illustrating their interest in land issues.

Land Claims and Change

The following is an analysis of the discussions of how the land claims has changed life here. The oldest resident said, "I don't feel nothing after they give us land claims. They are still working on it, though, - surveying." Four individuals indicated there was no change; one reported, "Not much;" and four thought there were some changes. One person admitted she did not know because, "I don't go to any meetings."

The Bristol Bay Native Corporation made an obvious effort in the spring of 1985 to provide information on ANCSA issues. Trefon Angason, from BBNC Shareholder Relations, spent several hours in the village and, according to one resident, he was "trying to explain the things here." How much real understanding there is remains unknown, but the following quotes reflect some residents perspectives on the topic:

> "It didn't turn out the way they expected. We apply for native allotment and not get it. Small problems."
>
> "A little conflict and misunderstanding"
>
> "We are starting to feel it (the land claims); we can't just go and build anywhere we want.
>
> "It made me stop and think about the value of land and subsistence. I took it for granted before."
>
> "The land is yours and you know your kids are going to have something."

Here, as elsewhere, there seemed to be some confusion about the difference between native allotments and land claims, and corporation land and private allotments. This was especially clear when talking about the "land claims" and people responded by talking about Native allotments.

ANCSA Enrollment. As of February 15, 1985, Chignik Lake had 108 shareholders; and 10,400 shares. This was 2% of the total BBNC enrollment. Of the 108, one was deceased and 3 had no known addresses. Therefore the following analysis is based on 104 known addresses.

The Lake had the highest number (in the subregion) of shareholders actually receiving their mail in the village: 78 or 75% of the total. In addition, nine others lived in other nearby villages--2 at the Bay, 6 at the Lagoon and 1 at Perryville. One shareholder lives in Port Heiden and 1 at Pilot Point. Altogether, 89 or 86% of the shareholders live in the region of the Bristol Bay Native Corporation. In 1985 only 2 people had addresses in Kodiak, 1 in Karluk, six in Anchorage and 1 in Palmer. So 10% lived elsewhere in Alaska, bringing the total count in Alaska to 95% of the village enrollment. Only five persons had Outside addresses: 2 in Washington and one each in Hawaii, New York and Oklahoma.

Interestingly, although many stockholders have village addresses, several members of the Corporation board are enrolled elsewhere. The local by-laws have been changed to allow them to serve on the village corporation where they now live. This included Johnny Lind, President of the Village Corporation, and Afonie Takak, village council president. Wilbert and Lena Anderson were in Kodiak at the time of the enrollment procedures and somehow they got enrolled to Chignik Lagoon, where their summer home is located.

Blood Quantum. Of the 107 shareholders for whom information on the relative amount of Native blood is available, 51 (48%) are reported as 100% Native. Another 17 (16%) are classified 75%-94% Native, and 19 (18%) are between 56% and 68% Native. That is, 81% of this group of shareholders were more than 50% Native. In sum, the strong family ties, reported in the earlier sections, are also reflected in the political organization of the village and in the high percentage of shareholders present in the community.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

This section discusses subsistence food usage, commercial fishing, local jobs and costs of living in the village. A good supplement to our information will be found in the village profile (see References section).

Subsistence food preferences

Replies to a "favorite food" query clearly indicated the people of this village value highly their local resources. Of course they, like other residents in North Pacific communities, also buy foodstuffs from stores. All the respondents identified subsistence foods first in the discussions. Only one individual said beef - and that reply led to a discussion about how his father used to raise beef on Afognak and thereby "spoiled" his family. Overall, there was far less reference to any store-bought food in this village than elsewhere. Only the one mention of beef plus one reference to Chinese food.

All the rest of the replies cited local foods, especially fish in many forms: salt, smoked and dried. And three persons were quite specific about the fish they liked best--"Red salmon when they turn color upriver." Other foods included geoducks, sea urchins, king crab, duck, rabbit, ptarmigan, seal "for dipping dried fish," sea lion flippers and seal. Although they may like seal, one person admitted he had not had any for 20 years. Another volunteered seal was rare.

Six people mentioned caribou as a favorite food, and one person said, "Of course - caribou!" as if there could be no question of what she preferred. There is a suggestion from this limited information that the people from Ilnik and their descendants prefer caribou to fish, but more data is needed for confirmation. It would make good sense since Ilnik is on the side of the peninsula where caribou are more abundant.

Distribution. As Dora Andre says, the villagers like to "spread it to the rest of them." And indeed considerable distribution of local foods does occur. For example, the Takak family shares with Dora and with two sisters and two brothers in Anchorage. The Orloffs send fish to his mother in Anchorage, and salmon berries and smoked salmon to Port Lions. From Port Lions they receive elk and deer--enough in one distribution for approximately 8 meals for a family of 9. Examples of the distribution of food in May, during the short visit of the author, included halibut that was sent from Perryville and distributed to at least three households, and buckets of razor clams that were dug and distributed locally. One elder received some moose from a relative now living in Anchorage.

Here are some of the meals consumed by the field researcher: pickled salmon, fish pie, dried fish, duck stew, caribou roast, kippered canned salmon, halibut, razor clams and potato salad made with sea gull eggs from Bristol Bay. Availability of these foods is a further indication of the viability of the local food resources and their use by the residents. Information about the main course for 14 different meals (ten households, including a total of 52 persons) was gathered during the two trips. Of the 14 meals, fish was served at 9 of them--salmon (6), cod (2) and halibut (1). Four meals included caribou (three of the households included persons born in Ilnik) and one had moose and one household had duck stew. Although each meal included items bought at a store (e.g., pilot bread, mashed potatoes) for only two of the 14 meals was the main dish bought--chicken (for 10) and spaghetti. (Some of the cod may have been purchased frozen at the Lagoon store).

As in other villages, a high degree of interest in subsistence-related activities was manifest by several of the teachers. The principal teacher is active in trapping and in teaching and eucouraging others, including students, to trap. One school teacher, originally from Maine, was found vigorously scraping beaver skins (with wrenches borrowed from the school shop). In addition to the beaver, she had bought one fox and two wolverine skins (costing between $400 and $800 for the wolverines). She was spending a Sunday afternoon tanning a wolverine and two beaver, with the assistance of two young students. This teacher's enthusiasm for trapping far out-distanced that shown by anyone else met during the field research. Indeed, before knowing about the activities of the Lake's teachers, I commented to a former village president that in some villages non-Natives seemed to be taking a greater interest in subsistence activities than were the local people. His response was to look at me rather surprised; then he agreed it did seem that way in Chignik Lake too.

Commercial Fishing

Eleven local residents hold salmon purse seine permits, and some of them own their own boats; others lease their boats from the fish processing company at the Lagoon (CWF). The boats are Aleut Sister, Lisa Marie, Nanbrendel, Anita Marie, Genevieve, Chignik Rose, Patti Ann, Marjonette, Oriole, Ella-Mae and Sandra Jean. The average age of the captains is 43.6 years; the youngest is 33 and the oldest 56.

For those who lease their boats, the rate varies according to the amount of the catch. That is, "The more fish you get, the lower the lease rate." The 1984 year was considered "fair." The price for fish was $.92 to $1.20 per pound; the average size of red salmon is 7 lbs. One man said he grossed between $185,000-190,000. The CWF packing plant did not operate in 1984 so the fishermen sold directly to cash buyers. One fisherman sold to a Kodiak tender. One retired fisherman noted, "Before, the cannery would allow credit up to $2,000 to $3,000" but now the credit line is $100. When the CWF processing facility operates, the company does the bookkeeping for the fishermen.

The availability of limited entry fishing permits is a problem. Dora Andre indicated her concern that only one of her grandsons has a permit and that at least five would like to have one. In another family, one son, the eldest, inherited his father's permit, and his nine younger half-brothers must crew if they want to fish. There are 17 men between the ages of 19 and 35 in this village but only one of them has a permit.

Crews. The crew composition by kinship category was determined for 6 of the 11 local boats that anticipated fishing during the 1985 season. Here is that make-up:

Boat 1: Son, grandson, a cross cousin's son (mother's brother's son's son) and one outsider.

Boat 2 Two younger brothers, a half brother and two sister's sons (age 8 and 9).

Boat 3 Wife, son and 1 hire

Boat 4 Wife's brother, wife's sister's husband (both from Port Lions), and a third man originally from Port Lions but now living year-round at Chignik Lake.

Boat 5 Brother, son and man from Perryville

Boat 6 Son, his son's cousin from Perryville, and wife's sister's husband from Anchorage.

Ages were available for 13 of these crew members; their average is 25.5 years, considerably lower than that of the permit owners (43.6 years). The average age of the known crew members on boat #1 is 20 years, boat #2 is 28.7 (adding the youngsters brings it down to 20.6) and boat #3 is 27 years. Only one of these crew members was over 40, and only one was in his 30's. Even though this is not a complete list, it is enough to raise the question of what men without fishing permits do after age thirty.

Crew shares ranged from a high of 18% (for a son) to 8% for a new hire. One man gives each of his crew 12%, including a brother and a son. Another man gives his experienced crew 15%. One crew member said in a bad year he would make $5000 as a crew member, in a good year between $25,000 and $30,000. Another individual reported that his lowest earnings recently were $22,000; he crews for a captain who does not live in the village. A retired fisherman said he used to be a "skiff man" and got a 25% share; that rate was down to 14% the last time he fished (four years ago).

There was occasional reference to young college students competing for the limited positions, but local fishermen generally hired only Native men. Note that at least two men from Perryville were hired by Chignik Lake captains. At the same time, one of the young high school boys fishes for a Perryville captain. It is also interesting that at least two nephews (sister's sons) were being trained as fishermen by their mother's brother, a matrilineal pattern found elsewhere.

Jobs, Cash and Costs

Informal discussions about winter activities provided some interesting insights into the work patterns of the residents. Although men sometimes answered with their favorite subsistence activities, such as hunting caribou, moose and bear, they also mentioned other kinds of activities, including local jobs. Several permit owners answered, "Work on the house," and they also spoke of going visiting with their wives in their private airplanes.

Crew members sometimes indicated they got specialized work, such as small machine repair, mechanical work, light plant maintenance, and occasional plumbing jobs. One man was called several times to assist Perryville after that community got their generators and electrical system installed. Many of the men had construction experience they put to work in the winter; all the homes and the church were built by local men. At least two men are trained in welding. Several young men answered the question with a shrug and a comment like, "Not much" or play basketball, volleyball and "cruise around." When discussing their activities, women identified local jobs, such as working at the school. Several noted they spent time with craftwork such as needlepoint and latch rugs. One mother said her main activity was "Keeping the kids in school." Visiting among friends and going to other communities was also mentioned.

The following is a list of local jobs in 1984-85:

- School: 6 teachers
  - 7 support positions, including:
    - Cook (Mary Lind Boskofsky)
    - Librarian (Jan Lind)
    - Secretary (Nina Odomin)
    - Maintenance (Johnny Constantine, Emil Artemie and Donnie Lind)
    - Recreation aides (2)

  At least three local women substitute in the school (Joan Boskofsky, Lena Lind and Lola Lind)

- BBNA Senior Citizen program (Emil Artemie)

- Airstrip Maintenance (Bill Lind)

- Postmistress (Lena Lind)

- Health Aides (Nana Takak; Kathy Lind, alternate)

- Village and city office
  - Grants (Lola Lind)
  - Secretary (Sue Odomin)
  - Garbage and Maintenance

All of these jobs with the exception of the six teachers and school head maintenance position are part-time. Rates for services included the following:

- $10 an hour for council village related jobs;

- $100 a day for substitute teaching;
  School cook, $10; Janitor, $10.32/hr.

- Post Office: $195 a month, 6 hours a week.

- Local plumbers: $15 an hour.

- Small construction: $20 an hour, or for a private party, $18 to $20.

As is often the case, there are more part-time, regular jobs held by women than by men, partly because there are more job opportunities in the village for women. Although men, especially young men, have some opportunity for commercial fishing, not all are involved. One young man who is successful as a crew member still commented, "I would like to get away from fishing." One man in his middle thirties, a former crew member, struggling with years of alcoholism, reflected a kind of despair:

> "Life is so easy, it makes a person lazy. You feel like getting up, but then you sit right back down. Before, it was natural; we accomplished a lot. Regardless how bad it was, we still made it. Today I am so lazy. I can depend on my brother. Now, every day, I'm bumming. We got dependent on welfare, food stamps, all that stuff. Rural-Cap, energy assistance, makes everyone lazy."

And it can be expensive for permit owners to have relatives in need. While in one home, the telephone rang; it was a brother in another part of the state, broke, and requesting assistance. No attempt was made to estimate the extent to which relatives are "bumming" off of permit and boat owners, but it probably is great; the pattern seems a part of living in a village, where one is literally surrounded with relatives, some of whom are unemployed all year. The concern for unemployed, and in some cases unemployable, relatives may partly explain why even the most successful fisherman surprisingly were in favor of outercontinental shelf development. Perhaps if a major find occurred, their relatives could get work.

Expenses. Where families buy supplies was part of the discussion involving favorite foods. Data about where 12 households purchase their food was gathered. The number of regular residents in these households was noted along with whether or not the head of the household was a permit owner.

Household	No. residents	Source of supplies
1	4	Anchorage Prairie Market
2	6	" " Patricks
3	10	" " Patricks and Prairie Market
4	7	" " Patricks
5	9	" " Prairie Market
6	4	" " Patricks and Prairie Market
7	6	Seattle
8	3	Anchorage and Seattle (beef)
9	4	Anchorage Prairie Market
10	2	CWF at Chignik Lagoon
11	1	CWF at Chignik Lagoon
12	6	CWF at Chignik Lagoon
	62	

Although the data is incomplete, and some families buy at several different locations that may change from year to year, this table still clearly suggests differential buying patterns. The first 6 households included five permit owners and one teacher family--40 regular residents (65% of this small sample). The next three households also buy outside the area; they each have a crew member in the family. Finally, the last three households buy at the nearest, and most expensive place, the CWF cannery store at Chignik Lagoon.

Only one person in this group was known to have a part time job in the village, and one was a crew member. In general, these households may be presumed to have the lowest overall incomes; while not "down and out," they are not likely to have the kind of credit that would allow for purchasing and shipping food out of Anchorage. In summary, eight of the 12 households reported they buy food from stores in Anchorage.

A small local store was opened in 1983 in Johnny Lind's home. The family has plans for expanding it, after they finish building their new house. So it is possible that within the next few years Chignik Lake will have their own store. The goods being sold at the time of this research were bought from Patrick's in Anchorage. Here is a brief run-down of the items available in 1984:

Pop	$ .70 a can
Bread	$2.50 a loaf
Eggs	$2.00 a dozen
Popcorn	$ .75 a bag
Candy	$ .40 a bar
Snuff	$1.50 a can

In addition to these supplies, in May 1985 Johnny's Store had 4 video game machines bought second-hand in Anchorage. They were the local attraction to the children at the time. One entrepreneur sold toys out of his home at Christmas time, and one woman sold hamburgers out of her home for the Church. Petterson's observation that there are many entrepreneurs in Chignik Lake appears to be confirmed (Petterson et al. 1982). Plans are also being discussed for a lodge and local flying service. Key costs of village living include fuels; the following were purchased at the CWF supply at the Lagoon:

Diesel	$1.19/gal.
Stove oil	$1.25
Gas	$1.28
Propane	$70.00/100lbs.

In addition to the initial costs, the barrels must be transported to the Lake, up the river. Two local scows provide transportation, and individuals bring their personal supplies up by skiff, and sometimes by seine boat. A round trip to the lagoon takes between 5 and 10 gallons of fuel, and the local estimate for a skiff trip is $10.

Examples of local costs were compiled from different households:

One man said he could live comfortably on $15,000 a year.

One household needed 4 to 5 drums of oil a month at $60-$70 a barrel.

One household anticipated a regular cost of $3000 a year for oil for the generator and for heat.

Another household reported it cost $300 a month for fuel just for the generator and another 3 drums a month for heating his home.

Another household figured on 40 barrels a winter to heat their four bedroom house.

The students at the school looked into four different ways of heating homes, and they identified how many houses used the different heating methods, presumably in some combination (not identified):

	Number of houses
Oil heat	25
Wood heat	11
Electric heaters	10
Propane	12

Operating vehicles requires a considerable amount of money. While there were only 3 trucks in the village (with only 1 operating in May, 1985), eight privately owned aircraft were reported. The schoolchildren counted 39 three-wheeled vehicles of various kinds at the Lake. One family had six--3 at the Lake and 3 at the Lagoon. Skiffs of at least three different kinds are found in the village; their presence reflects the importance of lake and river transportation to the community. In late 1984, the students counted a total of 68 skiffs: 20 speed skiffs, 22 snag skiffs and 26 tin skiffs. There were also 2 locally-owned small barges. One man volunteered that using his skiff for a caribou hunting trip would cost at least $30 to $50, and there was no guarantee of success. During the winter of 1984-85 several local owners for the first time stored their boats at the Lake rather than at their usual place at the Lagoon. According to reports in May, the boats did not suffer ice damage.

In December 1984 there were 32 telephones, 3 television channels and two satellite dishes.

One discussion topic was "When you get some extra money, what do you like to do with it?" A range of choices emerged. The discussion highlighted some of the differences between those households with a fishing permit owner and those that do not have one. One man sent $300 down to the Lagoon store to pay for his bill; paying for groceries was mentioned a total of 5 times. A boat owner spent his state permanent fund dividend in Anchorage staying to look after a sick relative. Another permit owner bought an expensive gift for someone who helped build his house. He said he had banked his kids' first $1000 dividend checks, though the children were allowed to spend the later smaller amounts. Another family bought a generator plant. Using extra money for Christmas presents was mentioned only once. An example of how expensive it can be to travel was indicated by one family that spent $2000 on a trip to Kodiak and back.

Home improvements. The houses were all locally built. Although applications had been submitted for HUD housing, none had been constructed by May 1985. The homes appeared modest on the outside, but often were found to be elegant inside. Some families had larger homes at the Lagoon than at the winter village at the Lake. One young man, a crew member, had built his own home by the age 19. Although all homes had running water, not all had hot water. One household had a new hot water tank heated by propane. During the winter of 1985 the same family installed a soft drink soda pop machine with four different flavors.

There was continuing debate about whether to install a generator to serve the whole community. At the time of the field visits, private generators were often shared between households. For example, eight households were tied into one generator. It was estimated to consume 100 drums of fuel a year. Another generator provided 5 households with electricity, and a third was shared by 3 houses. A comparison of the relative costs of these individual plants to a community-wide system would be interesting, but the data are not available.

Outdoor Recreation

On the second visit a topic that was explored was local interest in sportsmen and outdoor recreation as possible economic enterprises for the village. The response was clearly in opposition; only one qualified "yes" was voiced, by a resident who added, "As long as they don't ruin the fish." But the spirit of the other answers was reflected in comments like these: "I prefer they rather not come," and simply, "It would be bad".

SUMMARY

Historical Comparison

Although most of the results of the current effort supplement the information gathered in the early 1980s by Petterson (Petterson et al. 1982), a few comments concerning different findings are appropriate. For example, Petterson felt "virtually everyone in the community is related by marriage or birth to individuals of this (one) family." As indicated in the section on social organization, this is an over-statement of the facts. Nor is the community "virtually abandoned in the summer" (1982:170). Although most people do indeed go for at least part of the time to the Lagoon, at least five households stay in the village and others come and go - the distance is not great.

A small correction concerns "no federal or state employees" (1982:179). While this may have been the case in 1981, in 1985 there was at least one federal employee, the postmistress, and one state employee, the airstrip maintenance man. Reference to the Lake having the only airplanes used as a means of recreation (1982:186) needs to be qualified. In 1985, the Lagoon, Perryville and Ivanof Bay also had privately owned planes. Finally, the projection concerning the political arena not changing "radically over the next five years; the leadership structure will remain relatively constant" (1982:190) needs to be modified. In the fall of 1984 there were significant changes on the village council, analyzed in the political organization portion of this report.

Of course, these differences may stem from diverse perspectives or different data, as well as from the fact that the village has been changing in recent years.

Matrilineality

Although no clear pattern of matrilineality emerged in analyzing the information from this village, there is one critical example of the significance of the mother's brother that should be noted here. Emil Artemie, son of Willie Artemie and Nadia Shangin, was adopted and raised by his mother's brother, Rodeon Shangin, in Perryville. Emil recalls that he and Fred Shangin, a patrilateral cousin, used to sit on the lap of their common grandfather, Yako Shangin, an important lay reader in the church. Emil recalls the time his grandfather died, probably from tuberculosis, in the church. (Later Emil himself had several serious episodes with tuberculosis.) This is an example of the important role of the mother's brother in an older generation, for the time period generally from the turn of the century to the 1930s. Here we suggest that a traditional matrilineal pattern has been recently modified, perhaps partly as a result of the Scandinavian, patrilineal influence through intermarriage, and partly as a result of the access women have gained to marrying out of the local area, sometimes completely out of the region and state.

OCS and the Future

Three topics were explored--current perspectives about oil and gas development, attitudes about wage labor, and interest in jobs beyond the village. Some weakness in the data stems from the fact the discussions were broad-ranging, and time and the format did not allow for detailed elaboration. The first topic was, "What kind of work do you like best?" As expected, most men said fishing, while women mentioned home-making or their local employment. Some men added winter activities, like "carpentry." The next to be discussed was, "Would you leave this village to go to a job somewhere else?" A little over half of the men who responded said "Yes;" one said no; and one said it depends--if the wages are fair. The women were not enthusiastic about the prospect: "Yes, if it was another Native community," and "If I had to." Some of the men had experience at Stepovak, and also on the Pipeline. The pipeline experience was especially good if someone else, a Native person from the village, or region, was in the same camp. "That really makes a difference."

"If oil or gas was found around here, what do you think?" The intent of this query was to elicit, in as objective a manner as possible, the general tenor of local attitudes; whether oil and gas activities were perceived to be good or bad. In the ensuing informal discussion, ten points-of-view were expressed. Three women were clearly in support of development. "It would be good if we could share," and it would be good if "Native people get jobs." One fisherman, a crew member, was also interested in work; he was the one who would like to get away from fishing.

But another fisherman, a permit holder stated clearly, "It would be a bad thing if it happened around here." Two people stated, "I don't know." Examples of other points-of-view included: "It would be ok but for the problem of airstrips and access," and "I'm worried about fishing and wildlife." One conservative older gentleman stated firmly, "We don't want to be bothered here. Leave us alone."

In summary, four individuals were in support of oil and gas, four were against, and two were not sure of their position. With such a small sample, no generalizations can be made to the entire village. It is worth noting that the number who disapproved was smaller than might have been anticipated given the level of dependence on commercial fishing. Also it should be pointed out that the discussion may not have been understood as referring to the Outercontinental shelf. There has been oil interest and exploration on land in the area, and some individuals may have perceived the inquiry as related to oil and gas development on their land.

Village values

What people say they like about their community and the things they identify with change may have important implications for their future. Discussions were structured to gain information about the peoples' values toward their community and each other. A reflection of their feelings about change as they are experiencing it was also sought. The first topic in each informal discussion was, "What do you like (best) about living here?" Because it was introduced early, people took quite some time discussing it, and they gave thoughtful responses. It was meant to be an easy topic, one that would make the individual or group comfortable with and interested in the process

Here are some of the thoughts from people of Chignik Lake. Dora Andre, then age 82, stated, "We were brought up from the land." Five of her kin replied it was a good place because it was home; they were born and raised here. Seven men said it was "good hunting," one added "and good fishing." The freedom and privacy that characterized their life were positive attributes often mentioned. Five stated they liked Chignik Lake because it is not like a city: "No traffic," "No rush," "Because it's small," and "I can't stand Anchorage!"

One elder stated, "Its (our) common bond. We help each other all the time." Though they may not actually help each other all the time, that was the ethic, a reflection of the values that tie the people of this village together. The most important parts of this bond are the land, the hunting, the family, and its contrast with experiences in the city.

The discussion turned to the topic, "What kinds of changes have been going on here?" The talk reflected the overall upbeat feeling of the village. Some answers were oriented to people. "People in and out," and especially "more people," was the observation; the tone of replies was that this was a good thing; for example, "I don't mind" (more people). "Everything is getting more modern," was an observation many volunteered. Sometimes the respondents listed the things: telephones, airplane service, water and sewer, and television. The improved living standards, getting roads and perhaps soon a barge to bring in goods were noted. Three individuals mentioned the school, saying that it was a better school now that they had a gym and a high school. One mother further added she noted a change in her children's attitude, and on their report cards.

Finally, there were two observations that seemed especially insightful considering the sorts of alterations that are taking place at Chignik Lake: "More young people are getting involved" and "The council is more active and there is more of the community working together." Not only is Chignik Lake perceived as a good place to live, its residents also seem to be comfortable with the many changes which have occurred recently. The general outlook seemed positive toward more changes, and an even better life ahead.

Chignik Lagoon

INTRODUCTION

The Two Communities

There are two communities at Chignik Lagoon: one is Chignik Lagoon "on the Flat Side," and the other is Chignik Lagoon "on the Cannery Side." The village "on the Flat Side" is located on the west shore of the Lagoon, where the cannery formerly operated, and is a permanent year-round community. The current fish processing plant is "across," two miles away on the opposite, east shore of the Lagoon. Along this eastern shore, "on the cannery side," a summer village is formed each year by residents of Chignik Lake and Perryville.

The following is a brief, initial analysis of the two distinct villages that have emerged in the area called Chignik Lagoon. The indication there were separate communities at the Lagoon was given in November 1984, on the first field trip to the Chignik villages. Feona Shangin of Chignik Lake emphasized the "Flat Side," not the "Cannery Side," when advising me where to find her friend, Olga Sam. So it was that I did indeed find Olga at Chignik Lagoon on the Flat Side on that first visit, and at the same time discovered that the "Cannery Side" was "across"--2 miles across--the Lagoon.

At that time of year only a winter watchman and the storekeepers lived at the cannery. The store was reportedly "like a supermarket," and therefore worth visiting. But severe weather prevented a visit. The concept of the separation of the two areas was at the time simply a geographical division. After all, two miles is a long way in a winter storm. On the second field visit, in May 1985, however, the real significance emerged of Feona's emphasis on the "Flat Side" as opposed to the "Cannery Side." The distinction then acquired dimensions that were quite unexpected.

The Cannery Side of the Lagoon, the location of the Columbia Wards Fisheries (CWF) processing facility, is the place where many of the Chignik Lake and Perryville residents live during the summer. Only a few families stay at the Lake (and even they visit the Lagoon), most preferring to move to their substantial summer homes on the Cannery Side. Only one Lake family has a home on the Flat Side. A boat trip down the Chignik River from the Lake to the Cannery revealed the extensiveness of the summer community--residences are spread out above the eastern shore of the Lagoon for some distance on either side of the Cannery and Store.

At the CWF store itself, it was learned that Lake people buy more there than do Lagoon people. The latter have more of their food sent by parcel post from Anchorage, or buy case lots from Seattle. The Lagoon residents on the Flat Side are reported to be more affluent and therefore can buy in larger quantities and do so elsewhere. The winter storekeeper indicated that far more local business was gained by frequent year-round visits from the Lake, 10 miles away, than from the Lagoon, 2 miles away. (The different sizes of the villages may partly account for the perceived difference in the amount of business: in 1985 Chignik Lagoon had a population of 74 and Chignik Lake had 160 residents.)

In addition to the residential and economic links there are semantic ties. "Here at Chignik" (Lake) means spatially not just the Lake in the winter but also the Lagoon, exclusively on the eastern side, during the summer. Illustrations of this spatial, linguistic concept occurred during three different discussions at the Lake. The idea of Chignik Lake as a community encompasses both areas and does so both in space and in semantics. Further, the families who move to the eastern side are called "summerbirds," a local usage that clearly identifies the group.

There is a historic basis for the connection between the Lake and the Cannery Side and for the separation of the Flat Side from the Lake. The basis, as discussed in the Chignik Lake narrative (see pp. 44-46 above), centers around the schools and the churches. In the late 1950's or early 1960's, before the people now living at the Lake moved there for the winters, they requested a school for their children. They had been urged to move to the Flat Side during the winter and enroll their children in the school there. But these people wanted to remain separate, in part because many of the Flat Side residents were of a protestant orientation, not Russian Orthodox. The only way the Lake people saw to remain Russian Orthodox was to move to a new location and build their own school, which they did, thereby sharpening the separation of the two communities.

In addition to their considerable time depth, the distinctions are accentuated by the ethnicity of the two communities. The people of the Lagoon Flat Side are descendants primarily of Russian-Aleut creoles and Scottish, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and German sailors who immigrated early in the twentieth century. The degree of Caucasian mix is large. In the past, some of the people moved from Mitrofania, a community located in the late 19th century on an island west of the Lagoon. On the other hand, current analysis indicates some ancestors of the Lake residents are more directly tied to Ilnik, an abandoned village on the Bristol Bay side of the Peninsula, and to the old community at the Lagoon, east and south of the present cannery.

The separation of the two sides at Chignik Lagoon was further confirmed by the Perryville data, which indicates that at least 8 households from Perryville move to the Cannery side of the Lagoon in the summer. Six of them have residences, and the other two families rent homes. Like the Lake people, the Perryville residents share Russian Orthodox and Koniag traditions. In sum, Chignik Lagoon includes two separate communities with distinct characteristics. One community, on the Flat Side, is a year-round village with a winter population of about 80, increasing by approximately 37 households in the summer. The other community, on the Cannery Side, is a summer village of Native residents mostly from Chignik Lake and Perryville. The distinctions between the two groups involve an established cultural pattern with a historic, ethnic, and religious base that carries continuing social implications.

Description

The remaining part of this chapter addresses only the year-round village of Chignik Lagoon on the Flat Side.

The older part of the village, including the original post office building, is on a low lying spit of land bordering the beach and backed by a hillside. The flat area widens into a small peninsula of land that protrudes out into the Lagoon. The Lagoon itself is an expanse of water about seven and a half miles long and two miles wide that is connected to Chignik Bay by a narrow channel at its northwestern end.

From Chignik Lagoon, it is ten miles north to the village of Chignik Lake, and five-and-a-half miles west to the city of Chignik Bay. An Alaska Packers Association cannery used to be located in the area now bisected by the village's runway. As noted, now the Columbia Ward cannery and store are two miles "across." Houses are located in three major areas; they are spread out over more than a mile from one end to the other. However, except for one household, the winter village is primarily located within a little over a half-mile range of the total area. The community must have acquired its label as the Flat Side before the current expansion of homes up the hill.

References

The most comprehensive and current information about the Lagoon community can be found in the village profile prepared by Environmental Services Ltd. (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1982). The Village Safe Water Program prepared a 15 page document as a result of a preliminary engineering study for the sanitation facilities (Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation 1984). One other reference was found in Ricks (1965) who reported the post office was established in 1962. Viola E. Grunert was postmistress, a position she continued to hold in 1985. Since so little information is available on this community, considerable effort is made here to provide both Minerals Management Service and the village itself with a description and analysis. It is an unusual community both from a historic standpoint and in terms of the rate of changes undergone in the early 1980s.

Two short trips were made to Chignik Lagoon. The first was on November 17 (arriving at 10:30 a.m.) and November 18, 1984 (leaving at 1 p.m.). The second was on May 5 (from 4 p.m.) to May 7, 1985 (8 a.m.). Altogether, a total of almost 3 days was involved. In November, five focused discussions were held and in May, four. Because of the extensive seasonal mobility of the population, it is difficult to calculate the percentage of the residents who were included, but the following gives some clues. Nine households and 17 people (nine men and eight women) participated. This represented 36% of the 25 permanent households and 39% of the 1984-85 winter residents (74) who lived at the Lagoon more than six months of the year. (The percentages are higher if only those households and individuals who live the full year in the village are used as the base. Then the figures were 8 households out of 19 (42%) and 15 persons representing a total of 27 persons in the households-- - 44% of the year-round population.)

The discussions included four older couples, three younger couples, the president and vice president of the village council, and the president of the local school board. Among these individuals were four limited entry permit holders and three crew members. Short visits were paid to the school teacher, postmistress, and health aide. Unfortunately, because of the timing of the visits, none of the "summerbirds" were interviewed. Since they represent 2/3rds of the summer village, this important gap in information must be noted.

History

The history of of Chignik Lagoon over the last 80 years is closely related to the affairs of several local families. These included three original families: the Brandals, one of the two Anderson families that now lives there, and possibly the Osbrikoffs (who no longer live there). The present residents include the descendants of men from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Scotland and Germany. The women they married were presumably Koniag, although in some cases they were part Scandinavian. That is, the kinship charts that were prepared indicate sometimes three generations of marriages between Native, or part-Native women and Scandinavian men.

Charlie Brandal, a Norwegian, married a Native woman before the turn of the 20th century. His daughter, Ann, married Marius Pedersen from Denmark. Marius was sailing in the area about 1909 and worked for the local cannery. They had eleven children. The oldest, Helen, was born in Chignik Lagoon in January, 1916. From this date we assume there was a permanent, year-round community at the Lagoon associated with a cannery. Some of the Pedersens were born at Nachemak where, for a time, the family had a fur farm. The other children of Ann Brandal and Marius Pedersen included Nels, Carl, Sam, August, Alec, Laura, Arthur, Hans, Alvin and Richard. Helen, August, Alec and Alvin all now live at Chignik Lagoon. August and Kara Pedersen moved there about 1953. Ann Brandal's brother's son, Alec Brandal, also lives at the Lagoon. And they all have children and grandchildren who either live at the Lagoon all year around, or return for the fishing season. The grandchildren are fourth generation descendants of Charlie Brandal.

In 1985 Helen Pedersen Nielson was the oldest village resident. Julius Anderson was the oldest man; it was reported that there used to be a herring station at Lake Bay, where he was born in 1918. Both recall life at the Lagoon when the old cannery was operating; it was a large complex that included a hospital and a store run by Harry Crosby, who used to keep cows. Both Helen and Julius had Meta Anderson for a teacher.

Victor Erickson was a Scandinavian who married Natalia Anderson, one of four girls (her sisters were Annie, Clara and Alice). Natalia and Victor had nine children. The oldest was Henry who married Lily Anderson. Another son, Walter, lives in Old Harbor, where he is president of the tribal council. Still another son, Carl and three daughters (Lena, Emily and Nora) were living in the town of Kodiak. One son lives in Washington and two daughters live in California. Three of Natalia and Victor's grand-daughters are now living in Chignik Lagoon: Louise Anderson, Viola Grunert and Vivian Brandal. Louise and Algot Anderson moved to the Lagoon about 1947. Algot's grandfather (his mother's father) was Oscar Lindholm from Finland and his father was Pete Anderson from Sweden. His mother's brother is Fred Lind of Chignik Lake. Three of Algot and Louise Anderson's children reside in Chignik Lagoon all year. The Andersons have a total of 7 grandchildren living there.

Yet another major family is linked to Charlie Brandal. One of his daughters, Mary, married Frank Grunert from Germany. Frank and Mary had at least three children--Emma who married Frank Sangoriti, Florence who married George Anderson, and Clemens who married Viola Erickson. Viola, as noted, is one of the three Erickson grand-daughters now at Chignik Lagoon. All five of the children of Clemens and Viola Grunert live in Chignik Lagoon; their children too are fourth generation from the original Scandinavian-Koniag marriage. In addition to these families with four and five generations of mix with predominantly European men, there is one family--Olga and Mike Sam--closely linked by kinship to Chignik Lake and Perryville. Like those villages, these individuals are genetically more "Native." Also they are Russian Orthodox, while many of the other residents at the Lagoon belong to Protestant groups.

Much more needs to be learned about the special history of this unusual community. For example, the houses provide clues about the village's past. At least two of them were brought in from other locations. At the north end of the village is a white house that was barged from Green Point (at the head of Chignik Bay) and there is a grey house that was barged from Ivanof Bay.

More recently the village has experienced a relatively dramatic decline in population; between 1960 and 1980 the numbers dropped from 108 to 48 residents. This may be partly explained by the migration of individuals from the Lagoon to the Lake, and the relocation of others to Kodiak city and Seattle. Some families have moved out for their children's high school education; they may return after that education is completed. In any case, many families return in the summer.

Here is a listing of recent events.

1954	The school was built (An earlier one must have existed the time the cannery was located there).
1968	A gravel runway was constructed.
Mid-1970s	CWF cannery store burned; operations conducted from a scow, until present store was opened.
1982	A non-profit corporation was formed to accept a State solid waste grant, received in 1983.
1983	The Health Clinic was opened on December 13.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Demography

Accurate information about the residents of Chignik Lagoon proved difficult to gather. In November, a household count of "regular" winter residents totaled 80, but there were only 61 people in the village at the time. Nineteen members of 6 different families were gone for various reasons, including meetings, health, and vacations. In May, a second attempt to obtain an accurate count was made. Local research assistants were hired, a map consulted, and a notebook for each household was prepared.

By using these resources, three different populations were identified:

1. Year-round residents: 19 households; 61 persons.
2. Six to 9 month residents: 6 households; 13 persons.
3. "Summerbirds" (seasonal residents): 37 households; 142 persons.

For the purposes of this report, the first two categories (year-round residents and those who live in the village longer than the summer but less than all winter) are combined for a population of Chignik Lagoon of 74 persons in 25 different homes. The seasonal contrasts are highlighted in the following table:

	Households	Residents
Over 6 mos.	25 (40%)	74 (34%)
Summer only	37 (60%)	142 (66%)
Total	62 (100%)	216 (100%)

The two persons who worked on this count were year-round residents who have lived in this small village all their lives. Although some caution must be expressed because an actual house to house census was not taken, there is every reason to believe the assistants were acquainted with everyone. For example, they noted that in addition to the regular homes occupied during the summer, there was "The Shack" where 4 or more crew members could stay, and they noted that many crew members lived on the boats. With this caution, the totals above give an idea of the contrasts of winter and summer in this village, and it is clear the community triples during fishing season.

Summer Residents

Many of the seasonal residents, or as they are locally called "summerbirds," are relatives of the year-round residents. At least 22 of the 37 summer homes are occupied by Native fishermen and their wives, and 7 more are the homes of non-Natives who have married Natives. There are at least 9 households identified as wholly non-Native. Their total is 33 persons. The summerbirds come from as many as nine different winter locations. Over 80% of them are in Seattle, Anchorage and Kodiak city.

Winter location	Households		Residents	
Seattle	14	(38%)	53	(38%)
Anchorage	8	(22%)	38	(27%)
Kodiak	8	(22%)	26	(18%)
Subtotal	30	81%	117	82%
Seward	2		6	
Chignik Lake	1		6	
Port Lions	1		4	
Florida	1		3	
California	1		2	
Long Beach,WN	1		4	
Total	37		142	

The relative proportion of summer and winter residents and the distribution of fishermen's families during the winter months may change over time. For example, as more services and facilities become available at the Lagoon, more families may choose to stay there over the winter. Or a poor fishing season may influence where a family spends these months. Finally, as already noted some families live elsewhere for the education of the children.

One final note on the summerbirds. Many on the list have local names such as Pedersen (6 households, 18 people) and Anderson (7 households, 24 people). Thus there is not just a flow of people into the Lagoon for the summer fishing season, there is also a flow of relatives back "home" for the summer. Another familiar name among the summerbirds is that of former Ivanof Bay residents--Shangin (3 households, 10 people).

Winter Residents

The following analysis concentrates on the winter residents (the data do not include the 2 non-Native teachers). They were distributed as follows:

Number in house	Number of households	Total
1	4	4
2	9	18
3	3	9
4	4	16
5	3	15
6	2	12
Totals	25	74

To recapitulate, 74 persons lived in 25 homes over the winter of 1984-85 (at least six to nine months of the year) and 61 persons in 19 households were full time, year around residents. In contrast to the summer residents who averaged 3.8 persons a home, the winter residents averaged 2.7 per home.

Compared to the others in the study area, this village had an unusually high incidence of 2-person households (36%). This is a reflection of two phenomena. One, the recent marriage of 4 young couples without children (yet), and the other, the presence of six older couples, five of whom have no children living at home. As far as these older pairs go, however, four have children and grandchildren in the village all winter, and all six have children and grandchildren who return in the summer. In addition to the 8 recently married residents noted above, there were four couples with a total of seven children under five; in all 11 young couples. Chignik Lagoon has a young population with clear potential for natural increase. Finally, there were 3 homes (12%) that included three generations.

From the household data it was possible to assess the relative proportion of Native to non-Native residents. Caution must be expressed again because of the many generations of "mix" that have come to pass. That is, many residents are ¼ Native, the descendants of parents who also were ¼ Native. The children are counted as non-Native here if the parents include a non-Native married to a Native who is ¼ or less Native. This is in keeping with BIA and ANCSA definitions.

Using this definition, the following figures were reached: 58% (43) of the population was Native and 42% (31) non-Native. The distribution by sex was as follows:

	Male	Female	Total	
Native	25	18	43	(58%)
Non-Native	14	17	31	(42%)
Total	39	35	74	

The unequal ratio of Native men to women is reduced somewhat when the non-Native figures are added to get the totals. Of the six mixed marriages (Native/nonNative), five were non-Native women married to Native men. In a village where there have been five generations of mixed marriages this does not seem unusual, except that rather than only men marrying in, women now are. There were also two households of non-Natives, but even in this instance kinship links them to a major family in the village. The two white households totaled 10 persons.

One long-time non-Native Alaska family that has contributed to the local kinship is the Worchesters--two sisters and a brother married into the village. Through these marriages, they are related to two of the long established families in the area. When their mother is in town, the family is represented in four households; a total of 13 persons linked to the local residents. Thus we can see that even recent arrivals who are not Natives from the area have links by kinship throughout the village.

The heterogeneous nature of the non-Native population in 1985 was further illustrated by a three generation family of 5 from the Near East. And as one woman commented, she likes the variety of people. A member of a long-time Native family volunteered that all the people at the Lagoon are "nice people," and a white crew member reported this was the friendliest village he had ever worked in. The importance of the several main families has already been established. In looking at the family members in the village in the winter, the Pedersens total 28% (21), the Grunerts 22% (16), and the Algot Andersons 29% (14). Note, however, this is counting some people twice because there are 3 Pedersens married to 3 Grunerts.

Finally, because maiden names can be overlooked in a kinship analysis, the contribution of the Erickson family does not easily emerge--until one considers the three Erickson sisters. One married into each of the three largest families. As a consequence, counting spouses, children and grandchildren, 43% (32) of the winter residents are related to the sisters. When their relatives return in the summer, the number grows. The mix of Native and non-Native appears to be a well established tradition at the Lagoon, a characteristic that distinguishes this community from the more traditional villages of Perryville, Chignik Lake and Ivanof Bay.

The School

When school opened in the fall of 1984, 39 students arrived. By mid-November, there were only 14, including 4 in Kindergarten. The other 25 had left for their winter homes. Special revenues from a Federal program had been requested to assist 18 of the transitory students.

At the opening, there was only 1 teacher, Dick Curtis. He has been teaching in Alaska since 1978. By the first week of May 1985, the school had 18 students and 3 teachers--one each for the kindergartners, the first through third grade, and for the 4th through 8th grades. The student distribution was:

K - 4
1 - 1
2 - 6
3 - 1
4 - 1
5 - 3
6 - 0
7 - 1
8 - 1
Total 18

The pattern of seasonal, yearly fluctuations in the number of residents of the community is complemented by the life cycle pattern of families as they move through time. The latter often includes a period of migration for the education of children of high school age. At least three local women in one generation attended Mt. Edgecumbe High School. Other students went to the town of Kodiak. Now there is a trend for families to move to Anchorage so the children can go to secondary school there.

Church Relationships

The field visits were too brief to establish extensive understanding of the churches active in Chignik Lagoon. From what information could be gathered it would seem the village, in its variety of churches, is as heterogeneous and complex as it is in its mix of people. With respect to the Orthodox tradition, one family with close ties to Chignik Lake continues to go to special services there; and Olga Sam, the daughter of a lay reader, is studying to be a lay reader. In the fall of 1984, she went to Kodiak to obtain books to further her study. As an illustration of the godparent relationship, an important Orthodox tradition, Olga sends fish to a special godchild of her now deceased parents. During the summer, services are held in the Bible Chapel, and it was reported the Jehovah Witness organization is active in the village.

Health

By 1985, the health aide had been providing services to the community for 11 years. In 1983, a modern health clinic was built and opened. Most of the injuries treated at the clinic are related to boat and three-wheeler accidents. For example in the fall of 1984, two children (both aged eight) had a three-wheeler accident in which one received a serious cut and the other a broken collarbone. The 1980 statistics for in-patients at the Anchorage and Kanakanak hospitals indicate a total of 65 contacts from the Lagoon (12% of the total for the Chignik area). Of these, about half (33) were patients in Anchorage and 31 in Kanakanak. Outpatient data for 1980 indicated 89 contacts, again a 12% incidence out of the total cases for the Chignik villages.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Generally speaking, Chignik Lagoon's political structure can be characterized as consistent with the values of the villagers that emphasize a preference for autonomy over their own affairs. Residents who were asked in 1984 were uncertain who was on the council and who was on the village corporation board. The village was organized through a traditional council, not a city council. As one person noted, they didn't want to bother with all the taxes. One discerned that government and taxes were sensitive issues. Yet in order to be eligible for state funds for capital improvements some kind of governmental entity must exist to receive the monies. Therefore, in late 1983, a non-profit corporation was organized for the purpose of receiving a $60,000 grant from the state for a sanitation study, and for a garbage burner.

In 1984 the sanitation study was done. It recommended a water and sewer system for the community to replace individual septic tanks and water systems. It also suggested a village-wide electrical plant instead of individual generators. Because of the seasonality of the residents, it would be difficult to make these improvements for the whole place when there are essentially two communities, each with different needs at different times of the year. In any case, by May 1985, it appeared that the decision had been reached that the summer residents would not hook up to a water and sewer system.

As already noted, Council leadership seemed uncertain in November 1984. In addition, some dissatisfaction was reflected, and it took quit some time to discover who was on the council at that time. The presidency had changed at least three times since a listing was first made available in 1981.

By May, 1985, a new council had been elected:

President: Rodney Anderson
Vice-President: Alvin Pedersen
Members: Clem Grunert
Mary Grunert
Harolynn Bumpus
Lena Anderson

What stands out about this council is its relative youth--all the members are under 40. Also noteworthy is the fact that four major families in the community are represented. Finally, there are three women on the council, two of them new to this particular political arena. The men include two crew members and one permit holder. The women are non-Native, though one was raised in the community. The president and the vice president are both in their mid-twenties and can be characterized as local entrepreneurs. One, for example, is owner of the Tackle Shop and the other runs heavy equipment under contract with the state for airport maintenance. In the informal discussions, they both adopted a pro-development stance indicating that changes were not occurring fast enough. Under their leadership Chignik Lagoon most likely will solicit and obtain more funds for local projects.

Several projects were being discussed. A boat harbor was one--at the present time boats are stored up on the beach during the winter, and anchored on the sandy tidal flats in front of the village during the summer. More immediate community needs are for an adequate bridge across the creek that bisects the community, and for an improved school. The building is one of the oldest in the Lake and Peninsula District. A road to Chignik Bay was being considered. It would aid greatly with the transportation of goods from the cannery docks at the Bay, but it also could bring tourists and associated litter. Villagers expressed reservations about the latter, which clearly is not desired in this small, private village. Bulk fuel storage was another topic under discussion. Currently, the residents go to the Bay to purchase fuel, transport it to the village by boat, and pump it into individual fuel storage units of various sizes.

Although local reports suggested the council in the past had not been particularly active, with its current membership, it may be poised for considerable action. The group had hired a person to prepare grant proposals and a secretary in the village. The council had sought the assistance of the State Department of Community and Regional Affairs. As noted in the section on demography, the Lagoon is a young community with considerable growth potential; perhaps it is moving away from its earlier preference to avoid the meddling associated with any level of government.

Land Issues

Alaska Packers Association, owners of the former local cannery, also held a considerable amount of land in the vicinity. Their policy in recent years has been to sell it; they were asking $1500 a piece for lots at the Lagoon. The council had bought three, one for a planned fire house. On the occasion of the field visits, the issue of land availability was a sensitive one. Some local residents had been able to buy up a number of lots, which they then were reserving for returning relatives, or holding for later sale. One white crew member was distressed because he could not get a lot. The matter of who was eligible to own land had not been resolved; there was concern among local residents that more outsiders would move in. This village, like many throughout Alaska, was confronted with the issues of what to do with land, the prices to charge for it if it were to be sold, and how to accommodate the interests of people other than local residents who wished to purchase it.

Concerning Native allotments, only five local names are on the list; but this may be an oversight and must be doubled checked. Three whose names appear are elders who do not live there anymore. They had filed for 8 different parcels, for a total of 370 acres. Even if it is established that this is an incomplete list, the few filings noted reinforce the suggestion that this village has not been particularly active in the political sphere.

ANCSA

The responses to the query about how as the land claims had changed life in the village confirmed little involvement of the residents in these affairs. Individuals indicated, in general, that nothing much had happened. Some of them reflected confusion over the relationship of the allotment program to land claims matters. Foul-ups in enrollment procedures were also mentioned. The level of confusion and uncertainty about the land claims issues is not unusual in small villages. In a community like the Lagoon, which treasures its autonomy, the superimposition of outside organizations, even Native controlled ones, can be an irritation. As one resident commented resentfully, "Now everything has to be okayed by BBNA."

The following quotes are illustrative of the villagers' responses during the focused discussions about land claims issues.

> Not too much (change). A lot of people didn't get any (land). I don't know who is on the board.
>
> I was supposed to get four lots (older gentleman).
>
> I don't think its bothered too much here (older woman).
>
> They never tell us anything.
>
> I don't think so. In 1991 we will be paying taxes. Thus far, the shareholders here have never been informed of what their village corporation funds are.

> The money is going to the people that are running the corporation.
>
> This is where I thought I enrolled, but I am enrolled at the Bay.
>
> Not at all. Not a bit. I don't think we ever will. I used to be president of the Chignik Lagoon Native Corporation. All I did was go to a bunch of meetings. In 1991 it's going to be taxed. They're going to sell off the land if they find oil.

The 1985 village corporation president was a descendant of a local family, lived in Kodiak during the winter, and fished at the Lagoon during the summer.

Enrollment. Two particulars are characteristic of the local Chignik Lagoon residents. First of all, many were enrolled elsewhere, for example in the Lake or the Bay corporations. Second, the individuals who are shareholders in the Chignik Lagoon village corporation lived in many different locations. The following is an analysis of shareholders' addresses as of February 15, 1985. A total of 103 individuals held shares in the Chignik Lagoon village corporation. The addresses of 93 were known. One was deceased, and 6 had no address. BBNC was custodian for 2 and 1 apparently picks up mail in Anchorage at the regional corporation office. Of the 93 known addresses, 29% (27) lived in Chignik Lagoon and the same number, 29%, had Kodiak city addresses. One had a Kodiak Island village address (Akhiok). In the subregion of the Chigniks, 14 lived in the vicinity--1 shareholder at the Bay, 6 at the Lake and 7 at Perryville. In all, 44% of the shareholders had addresses in the Chignik area subregion. Elsewhere in Alaska, 11% (10) lived in six different regions: Anchorage, Unalakleet, Seldovia, Sand Point, Kenai, Fairbanks and Barrow. In all, a grand total of 41% (38) had addresses in the state, but not in the Chignik vicinity. Finally, 15% (14) had addresses in the state of Washington.

In conclusion, shareholders enrolled to this village lived in 12 different communities in Alaska other than the Lagoon, for a total of 85% in the state, with the remainder in the state of Washington (15%). Just as they originally came from many diverse areas, the residents are now dispersed in many different communities.

Blood Quantum. Earlier, in the kinship discussion, it was demonstrated that the Lagoon is a highly "mixed community"; the ethnic and genetic intermingling has occurred over at least four generations. This mix is reflected, relatively speaking, in the blood quantum criteria used by the BIA for enrollment. Out of 100 enrollees on the BIA lists, 14 were identified as full Native, with a total of 31 as 75% or more Native. The rest, 69, were half, or less, Native, and 18 were identified as one-quarter. These figures are similar to those of the Chignik Bay shareholders, but in considerable contrast to the villages of Chignik Lake, Perryville and Ivanof Bay.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Chignik Lagoon is a center for commercial fishing and for small, local businesses, many of which were recently established.

Subsistence activities and favored foods

Informal inquiries about favorite foods disclosed a preference for locally-obtained foods (ten statements noting local resources; two references to store-bought items). Fish and other sea food were cited, such as red salmon, geoducks and seagull eggs obtained from Mud Bay. One person made a point of saying "not seal." Duck was mentioned, as was caribou. Overall, the villagers came across as somewhat less enthusiastic for subsistence items than elsewhere in the study area. Yet one family regularly received frozen fish from Chignik Lake and, in November, were drying 128 fish from the Lagoon. Family members said they were going to give this fish away to friends and relatives, including a daughter in Kodiak, a sister, and a godchild of the parents (a woman with eight children who lived in Anchorage).

Three caribou had been harvested by a local white family, and one young man stated he had bagged 2 caribou in 1984, but no moose. One family had mooseburger for dinner the night before our informal discussions, and said the moose had been a gift from someone else in the village. However, this meal was the only one in our data that included a local food. Information about what was eaten the night before was gathered for 7 households and 9 evening meals. The data included consumption for 22 people. In addition to the mooseburger, three households (11 persons) had chicken. Other main dishes included pork, steaks, spare ribs and sauerkraut, chili, and spaghetti. The use of local foods seemed less visible here than elsewhere in the Chignik area.

When asked about the source of their processed foods, eight of nine households reported they buy from Seattle. Meat from E & E in Seattle was said to be especially good. Other Seattle sources included SeaLink and Acme. One family placed a $7000 order, exclusive of meat. Goods are delivered via the Pioneer line to Chignik Bay and then picked up by Chignik Lagoon boats. A round trip from the Lagoon to the Bay costs about $30 for fuel.

Three households also mentioned Anchorage as a source, including Patricks and Prairie Market. "Snake Eyes," an entrepreneur from King Salmon who has been flying his plane out with fresh produce for about four years, was cited as a supplier by four households. "Across," the CWF store, was used by at least five of the nine households; one indicated that it was cheaper there than the Bay, and another said they got their fresh vegetables from the store. Yet another household reported about 10 to 20% of their purchases were from the CWF store.

The ready availability of the CWF store was offered by only one household as an important dimension of their living at the Lagoon. As noted earlier, the CWF store managers reported that they had more business from the Lake than from the Lagoon, and our data on the 9 households confirms that information. Only the one household reported doing most of its shopping there, and Seattle probably got more Lagoon business in 1984-85 than anywhere else. Even beer (a winter supply of 70 cases for one household) was ordered from Seattle. A change in the credit policy at the CWF store was noted by the family that shops there exclusively. Credit used to be available to families (indeed, this one had had credit there for 50 years), but the practice has now been cancelled, except for boat accounts.

Commercial Fishing

Chignik Lagoon villagers have had considerable success as commercial fishermen. They especially benefitted from the richness of the fisheries during the 1980s. Asking, "What do you do in the summer?" led to a clear confirmation of commercial fishing activities for the men and, surprisingly, to a disclosure of former participation by several of the older women who used to work with their husbands on the family boat. Now the women reported they smoke and can fish, look after children, grandchildren, knit, crochet, sew, garden and enjoy the return of many relatives.

There were twelve limited entry permit holders who lived in Chignik Lagoon. One man inherited his father's permit and his brother was buying a permit from an uncle (his mother's brother). Another brother was trying to clarify his ownership of a permit which apparently had been questioned; he had lost it for a critical 2 weeks in 1982. The matter was still being negotiated in 1985. Three examples of difficulties obtaining clear title to permits were offered during the village discussions. Because permits are so highly prized, much attention is paid to these topics.

The 12 permit holders also owned their own boats. Ten of the boats were stored along the village's beach line during the winter; two were stored at the cannery two miles across. The man who was purchasing his uncle's permit was also buying a boat from his brother and father. The boats are in the $200,000 range, usually about 42 feet long. One villager, who no longer lives at the Lagoon, recently bought a boat and permit for $750,000 ($250,000 for the vessel). The village corporation president had bought a 180 foot boat that served as a tender.

The following provides information about crew composition, shares and earnings. A complete listing of crews was not available, but the data on crew shares is based on seven sources. In 1984 one boat crew included a local man, a new man from outside, and a young Native boy from the Lake (who was sent home). Another crew was composed of the owner's brother, son, brother's son, and a man from Kodiak. A third crew included one man from Perryville and one from Chignik Lake. Relatives were often included in a crew's composition. Kin from Anchorage and Kodiak were mentioned. One man said he hired relatives first. In May 1985 a different man had chosen not to hire until later in the season, because of the expense of feeding a crew until the fish came in. In one instance there were five sons in one family. Two fished with the father, the others with local boat owners.

Turning to crew shares, we obtained the following information for 1984. One man got 17%, the highest share reported; he was 25 years old. This man's earnings were $48,000 in 1984. Another man who had fished 8 years for the same boat received a 15% share. One individual used to get 15% but was down to 10%. A younger man said he was paid 15% by his uncle (father's sister's husband). One man indicated he paid 5% to his young teen-age son. One owner reported he was going to hire a fifth man for 9%; this crewman was starting his third year fishing. Young men wanting to break into the fishing industry might be willing to work for as little as 5% in late fall; after proving themselves they might then be hired on the following year for the full season.

A boat owner explained how he figured the shares. He said he kept 40% for the boat and distributed 60% as crew shares to 4 helpers. The four of them also contributed to food, fuel and liability insurance. Crew gross earnings were reported to range from $11,000 to $48,000. Another estimate gave a range of $18,000 to 50,000. It was generally agreed that in a good year, the gross would be from $30,000 to $40,000, and in a medium year from $15,000 to $20,000.

Jobs

In other villages informal discussions around the topic, "What do you do in the winter?" usually elicited information about jobs, but not in Chignik Lagoon. Instead it provided an indication of the range of activities available for the residents outside of the busy summer season. For example, three people mentioned hunting (duck, moose and caribou). Others cited travel and visits to the town of Kodiak ("We like it there - more people"). Those who remained said in winter they would relax, beachcomb, snake logs, bring up fuel from the Bay and pump it in tanks. Some went to village meetings, others watched television, knit, or did needlework. A few went to trap fox and beaver, but most stayed at home. Two men mentioned carpentry.

Some individuals said they both worked and played in the winter. Two of the women had businesses that added variety to their lives and to that of the village as well. There were a few jobs available; all but the teacher positions were part-time. The permit and boat owners do not take these jobs, though successful crew members do.

In the winter of 1984-85, the following jobs existed:

School: Two teachers
Maintenance
Generator maintenance
Teacher aides (2)

Sitka Telephone (63 telephones in May)

Light Plant Maintenance ($18 an hour)
Post Office
Running mail (from the airstrip to and from the post office)

Television maintenance
Maintenance of the airstrip
Maintenance of the health clinic and community hall

Garbage collection
Health aide and alternate
Secretary to the village council
Village President ($50 a month)
Grant writer for the Council
Carpentry work (building homes for
summer residents)
Running heavy equipment ($20 - 25 an hour).

Local Businesses

Chignik Lagoon seems to be the business center of the Chignik subregion. Since 1983 a total of 5 businesses have opened and a sixth is contemplated. These are small shops and most of their activity was in the summer, but even the types of business reflected something about the entrepreneurial vitality of the community.

In 1983 a local woman opened a yarn shop in her home with an capital investment of $1000. Since then she has sold knitting materials as well as finished craft items. Also in 1983 a local man established Rodney's Tackle Shop. He specializes in rain gear, boots, tackle, rods and reels; he purchased the stock in Seattle and sold it in the summer to those who liked to sportsfish. The owner also rents his back hoe and dump truck for road surfacing and other local work. Again in 1983, a woman who comes regularly in the summer opened a restaurant called "Bun's Galley." It is primarily the fast foods center for the thriving village during the fishing season.

In 1984 the Forget-Me-Not Shop opened. It is a greenhouse-store selling flowers and accessories. Orders are taken both locally and from the Lake and Bay. The biggest selling items in the spring of 1985 were flowering houseplants and potting soil. The flowers and materials were shipped from Anchorage and Seattle. Men come in to buy presents for their wives, and the owner was considering expanding her inventory to include gift items like silk flowers. A capital investment of about $10,000 was made in the flower shop, its greenhouse, and supplies. The gross the first year of business was about $6000. On May 6, 1985 six-packs of flowers and vegetables were selling for $1.50, four inch pots for $5.00 to $7.50, and large hanging baskets with blossoms for $25.00.

In 1985 the Tackle Shop owner and his brother were planning to open an Outboard Shop. They would do repairs and supply parts. The enterprise was expected to provide work for a clerk, a bookkeeper and a mechanic. And a sixth business was being considered. An individual who lives in Kodiak in the winter and in Chignik Lagoon in the summer was contemplating establishing a variety shop. In sum, for a community of less than 80 people in the winter and less than 300 in the summer, this village had a surprisingly large concentration of small businesses.

Outdoor Recreation

Despite the local interest in sports fishing, especially for dolly varden and king salmon, there was no support for the idea of tourists or for the development of outdoor recreation in the area. Even the support for the boat harbor and road to Chignik Bay was constrained by the idea of outsiders coming in. The president of the village council, and owner of the Tackle Shop, asserted, "I don't like lodges or tourists." In 1985 it was clear "a lot of people are against it." Local recreation, it was felt at the time, should remain local.

Costs

The following is an indication of what some of the costs of living in Chignik Lagoon were in 1984-85. Fuel for heating and generating electricity was a major household expense. One man anticipated it would cost $2500 this year for fuel to heat and light his 3 bedroom home. Another man, with a smaller family, planned on $2000 per winter just for electricity. Another family rounded off their estimates to $5000 for fuel (electricity and heat) and $5000 for groceries for a year for four people. A fourth household figured a consumption of 100 gallons a month for the stove and hot water heater. The generator for electricity cost $300 every 45 to 50 days (this included electricity for one household and the pump for one additional house). Other costs given by the residents included travel expenses for a family of 5 to go to Kodiak, $1600; and cable television, $30 a month. Land cost $1500 to $2700 a block from the cannery company owning it (APA).

Food is another major expense. Fresh milk obtained through the services of "Snake Eyes" (light plane from King Salmon) cost $3/quart, $12/gallon. While not used extensively by Lagoon residents, the store on the cannery side was an important supply source for other villages, and was a critical source for the fishermen. The following prices were obtained on a visit to the store on May 5, 1985, and during discussion with the store operators.

Coffee	Hills Bros	3 lbs	$10.05
Eggs	Country Pride	1 doz.	1.50
Milk, canned		1 can	.86
Pilot Bread		1 size	2.95
Candy Bar			.45
Pop		1 can	.50
Sugar		10 lbs	6.28
Flour		10 lbs	3.24
Apples		1 lb.	.99
Potatoes		10 lbs	4.95
Hamburger		1 lb.	2.26
Chicken		1 lb.	1.65
Steak		1 lb.	6.67
Pampers	1 large box 40		14.67
Shotgun shells	1 box		$10-11.
Propane		100 lb.	69.00
Oil		1 gal.	1.25
Gasoline		1 gal.	1.28

Big Red 200 3 Wheeler	$2180.00
Big Red 125 3 Wheeler	$1884.00
Four wheeler TR 200	$2991.00
Skiff, 16 feet Smokecraft	$2170.00
Outboard motor 35 horsepower	$1802.00
Outboard motor 150 horse	$5549.00
Outboard motor 70 horse	$3169.00

All food items were obtained from West Coast Grocery. Meat was acquired from McDonald's in Seattle. Gross sales for a quiet month, such as January, could fall between $10,000 and $15,000; a single day in the summer could gross that same amount. As a final note on the cost of living in Chignik Lagoon, it is interesting to note the responses during the "extra money" discussions. Four individuals said they put theirs in the bank, 3 reported "nothing special," 2 took trips, including to Hawaii.

Facilities

As noted in the Political section above, in September 1983 funds were made available for a study of sanitation facilities at Chignik Lagoon. In December 1983 personnel from the Alaska Village Safe Water program visited, and in that same month the council resolved there was a need for such facilities. A January 1984 preliminary report identified the cost at $728,000, or $53/month for each house with water and sewer facilities. The homemade septic tanks and seepage pits were described as inadequate. The clinic was built in 1983 at a cost of $256,000. Also in 1983 the Department of Education allocated $130,000 for major repairs to the school. Earlier, in 1982, the runway had been upgraded ($825,000).

SUMMARY

Chignik Lagoon is a heterogeneous community, the mix extending back in time and involving ethnicity and economics. It is a dynamic community, with major seasonal changes--especially a tripling of the population in the summertime. For its residents, it was clearly a comfortable community where poverty was not evident but where relative affluence was. For example, in the 25 households where 74 people lived, there were 12 permit holders, 12 boats, 15 snag skiffs, 13 speed skiffs, an airboat, 13 trucks, 31 hondas, 7 snowmachines, 2 airplanes, 4 banyas, 29 dogs, 11 cats, 4 pigs, 15 chickens, and a single bird, rabbit, and turtle. The diversity of the community is thus reflected not only in its people but also in its vehicles and pets.

The suggestion that life was good at the Lagoon was clearly indicated in the statements the residents made about what they liked about living there. The idea of "no hassle" in a "peaceful" village was mentioned most often (seven households). The fact that it was home, that there was "family here" was also cited often. "All your relatives are around you," noted one resident. Privacy was important, as well as the way life in the village contrasts with that in the city. The residents displayed a spirit of independence, and distrust of others meddling in their affairs. "No one around here to tell you what to do," captures the feelings. Other references were to the idea of "no bureaucratic BS," and to a life that was "not restricted"; statements that there was "a lot to do during your free time," reflected the spirit of the community.

But still an older gentleman said, "I am beginning to wonder. It's more a young people's place. We stay here because of the kids." The shift of power and influence from the elders to the many young couples that is taking place may be viewed with some reservations by the older residents. This shift could lead to more aggressive pursuit of development projects, but the sense of privacy and independence is likely to persist. In summary, the village of Chignik Lagoon appeared to this researcher to treasure its independence, its autonomy, and to have considerable reservation about outsiders, the role of government, and associated "meddling." With its current aggressive leadership, however, the community may be on the verge of considerable political activity, and its associated changes.

Village Attitudes toward Change

Informal discussions provided insights into local attitudes toward the future. For example, talking about feelings about oil and gas activity elicited only one strong statement against it; there were more, "I don't know" and "It depends," comments. Two individuals indicated the state ought to "Go for it." "I don't think it will hurt anything - but I don't want tourists." Such general support for oil and gas development was unexpected in a community so economically dependent on and successful in fishing. The acceptance may be explained in part by the fact that exploration on land had been going on over a number of years in the area, with no negative results. Also the relative security of the community in their dependable fisheries may have reduced perceptions of threat.

Interest in potential jobs was not particularly high. One man said he might be interested in a job elsewhere, "If it was an 8 month season at $30 an hour for a heavy equipment operator." If these conditions prevailed, then he might consider going elsewhere to work. Four individuals, however, indicated clearly they would not leave.

Discussions on the topic of the kinds of changes that have been occurring in Chignik Lagoon brought forth varied attitudes. For instance, the sewer and water project was mentioned, but people seemed not particularly interested or concerned. As would be expected, the discussions with the president and vice president of the council reflected a need for more rapid change. On the other hand, one older gentleman thought things were getting too mechanized, and his wife added, "It's too comfortable. It was nicer when you had to haul water and get the exercise."

The fact there were more people coming in the summer was not seen by some as a negative situation, but rather, "I like it when there are lots of people." At the same time, "more people" were a concern to those residents who felt that more Outsiders were buying lots and building homes in the community. As long as the fisheries continue to be healthy and consistent, Chignik Lagoon is likely to remain a thriving community, characterized by highly seasonal changes. A growing winter community of young couples, their children, and their parents is being accompanied by a great influx of residents in summer.

In conclusion, there are two communities at the Lagoon: one on the Flat Side and one on the Cannery Side. This narrative has centered on the Flat Side village. The implications of the fact there are two villages at the Lagoon need to be further explored. With respect to the social and economic effects of OCS activities, our findings suggest that long range effects of changes in the fisheries will be differentially felt by three sets of residents at the Lagoon: 1) year-around residents on The Flat Side, 2) summer residents who live in Kodiak and Seattle during the winter, and 3) Native villagers from Chignik Lake and Perryville.

If we can better understand small communities like the Lagoon, and their capacity to accommodate to rapid, though regular, fluctuations of their population, we will gain insights into the boom town phenomena. For example, small businesses at Chignik Lagoon thrive in the summer; can it be documented how this is related to the overall fishing economy? In what other ways is the annual, seasonal, sudden population expansion of a fishing center like the Lagoon similar to, and different from, the one time sudden expansion of boomtowns in response to other industries?

Chignik Bay

INTRODUCTION

Chignik Bay is the oldest continuously-occupied community in the five village cluster of the subregion. In the 19th century a series of Koniag villages were located along the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula. They included Douglas, Katmai, Wrangell Point, Mitrofania, and Chignik (some lists include Kanatak). Only Chignik, which means the "windy place" in the local Alutiiq language, continues to be occupied, though descendants from the other communities do live in the other existing villages - both on the coast of the Alaska Peninsula and Kodiak Island. In May 1985, 91 individuals lived in 24 households at the Bay.

Since 1889 Chignik has been a center for commercial fish processing, an industry still vital to the local economy. It is one of two villages in the 11 of this study area that has an operating plant right in the community. In some years, two operate. One is the Sealaska plant owned by Conagra and leased for specialized processing of the red salmon caught primarily in Chignik Lagoon. The second plant, formerly Peter Pan, then CCFI, and now Chignik Pride, also specializes in processing red salmon. Neither facility actually cans fish, but freezes them for the market.

The recently incorporated "City of Chignik" is located along the curved coast of Anchorage Bay, just southwest and "around the corner" from the Lagoon. At one end of the community is Andersonville at a location called "up the village"; at the other end ("across") is the airstrip. Along the curve, starting from a cluster of older homes to the southeast (probably the location of one of the two villages mentioned in Porter 1890), a trail connects to the main portion of the town, a cluster of buildings within a compact area about 600 feet long, connected by boardwalks.

Here there is the local store, city offices, a restaurant (seasonal), village corporation office, the health clinic, a chapel and 16 homes. Back away from the beach is the new school complex and a row of new homes. In front of the village, on the beach, is one large cannery complex. Northwest about half a mile along the curve is the other cannery, Chignik Pride, and beyond that a cluster of homes of the Stepanoffs. At the far northwest end of the curve of the Bay is the airstrip, connected by a 1.7 mile road from the main part of town. The local expression to describe going to the airport is to "go across the Bay," reflecting the time before the road was put in when one literally went to the airport in skiffs. Technically now, the airport is "around the Bay." The approximate distance from Andersonville, or "up the village," to the Airport is about one mile straight across and 2 miles around.

References

The major references for the Chignik area includes the general reconstruction of the prehistory and historical ethnography based primarily on the Kodiak area written by Clark (1984:136-148; 185-197). The article on contemporary peoples of the north Pacific by Davis (1984:197-204) documents how little information was available by the 1970s. However, since then, Minerals Management Service has two reports that include sections on Chignik Bay based on field visits made in 1981 (Petterson et al. 1982:125-161; Payne et al. 1983: 123-144). These documents provide insightful background information for anticipating, recording and understanding change, especially in Chignik Bay. Note should be made of the observation that the community was "poised for change" (Petterson et al. 1982:157-58) and of the changing cannery relationships (Payne et al. 1983:133-135; Petterson, et al. 1982:128-29, 139).

Other resources include the village profile (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1982), which gives a thorough description of the local facilities. The preliminary study by the Village Safe Water Program (Alaska Department Environmental Conservation 1984) further describes these facilities along with alternatives for the water and sewer systems. (These projects were underway in 1984-85. In 1968, the council prepared an application to the Alaska Remote Housing Program and in 1976 they applied for water and sewer to the Public Health Service.) Yet another reference is the journalistic account by Estep (1938) which provides some insights on the cannery community at that time.

Going back in time, Moser's study (1899) of the salmon fisheries of Alaska gives most interesting historical information about the establishment of canneries in the area. Finally, the 1890 census report by Porter describes briefly the area and peoples at that time. Because little history of the area is known and their is growing local interest in it, a brief reconstruction based on these few accounts is made in this report.

Field Trips

A total of four days was spent in Chignik Bay: two and a half on the first trip, November 12-14, 1984; and one and a half during May 7-8, 1985. On the first trip, the winter winds and rain were phenomenal, living up to the Alutiiq name for Chignik as "windy". This was the first field visit for this region of the study; the second trip was the next to the last visit. Thus the community was intercepted the first time in late fall and the second time just as summer people were beginning to arrive, the restaurant was about to open again, and there was anticipation of the refreshing change of seasons traditional in this area.

The first trip began on the day the local community school program started, and just prior to the expected arrival of a new city administrator. There was some ill-defined crisis related to a school hiring. The second trip came after a number of crises had occurred, including conflict over the water and sewer project then underway, and an unfortunate episode involving the community, the VPSO, a teacher, and the school. In November, battles seemed anticipated; by May, several had come and gone. Had it been a more difficult winter than usual? Indeed, it was reported that it was so. Why? Perhaps, it was suggested, because so few people were there in the winter of 1984-85.

Seven focused discussions were held in November and five in May. A total of 12 households were involved (50% of the 24 houses occupied the winter of 1984-85). Altogether 19 people participated, ten men and nine women. The discussions included 3 non-Native men and one non-Native woman. A total of 51 persons were in the households that participated; this constituted 56% or the population in early May, 1985. The average age of the nine men for whom ages are know was 43; for women, the average age was 38. Included in the discussions were the following representatives (with some overlap of positions): the mayor, tribal president, 2 council members, 4 elders, 2 cannery personnel, 2 local school board members, the health aide, postmaster, 2 crew members and 5 of the 7 limited entry permit holders who lived in the village during the winter of 1984-85.

HISTORY

Local interest is keen for any piece of history that is uncovered, so a brief outline and discussion is provided here.

1888 The Fishermen's Packing Company of Astoria, Oregon sent a party to Chignik Bay to prospect for fish. They returned with 2,160 barrels of salt salmon (Moser 1899:165).

1889 The Fishermen's Packing Company returned and built and operated a cannery in the spring "on the eastern shore of Chignik Lagoon, 2½ miles from the entrance." This cannery was called The Chignik Bay Company cannery, sometimes referred to as the "Scandinavian." Earlier the Fishermen's Packing Company had purchased the Scandinavian Packing Company of Astoria, which probably accounts for the name. The same company built the cannery for the Alaska Packing Company on the Nushagak.

This same year two other companies built canneries on Chignik Lagoon near the Chignik Bay Company: the Shumagin Packing Company of Portland, Oregon and the Chignik Bay Packing Company of San Francisco. In all, within a year of the first report of the rich Chignik Lagoon fisheries, three companies had built and were operating canneries (Moser 1899:165). Further westward, a cannery was built at Orzenoy, on the western side of Stepovak Bay, beyond the present location of Perryville. The company, called Western Alaska Packing Company, operated only two years, 1889 and 1890, and then was dismantled and the site abandoned (Cobb 1930:59).

Even further west, at the extreme end of the south side of the Alaska Peninsula, a saltery had been operating for several years at Thin Point. In 1889 Thin Point Packing Company was organized by Louis Sloss Co., of San Francisco, and a cannery was built which operated three years, through the summer season of 1891. In sum, at least five canneries were built in the Chignik subregion during 1889: 3 at Chignik Lagoon, 1 at Stepovak and 1 at Thin Point.

1890 The census report for the area (Porter 1890) included information that indicates there were white men as permanent residents, and visiting hunters of Aglemiut from the northern shore of the peninsula in the area. Here is the quote in full:

> Many of the bays which indent the coast between Katmai and Wrangell bay are occupied temporarily by white men as hunting groups, especially during the winter seasons, but there is no permanent settlement to be found until we reach the latter point, where 62 Kadiak Eskimo are engaged in hunting and fishing. They have their sod huts on the mainland within the bay as well as on the island of Sutkhum, or Sutwik. The latter place is occupied chiefly during the summer for the purpose of sea-otter hunting. A small trading store has been maintained at Wrangell bay for many years, depending partly upon the custom of the Aglemiut Eskimo living on the northern shore of the peninsula, which is here easily crossed by means of interlacing rivers and lakes. The white sea-otter hunters in their small schooners frequently put into Wrangell bay or adjoining bays to obtain a supply of cariboo or bear meat. Both of these animals are still found here in large numbers at certain seasons.
>
> Proceeding southwestward from Wrangell bay we find an important fishing station on the shores of Chignik bay. A few years ago 3 salmon canneries were established here, but they have since been consolidated under one management, with an annual output of from 40,000 to 45,000 cases. The canneries employ about 60 white men and 120 Chinese laborers during the season. The only native settlement in this vicinity is located on Mitrofania island, about 30 miles south of the bay, where we find a thrifty colony of 49 sea-otter hunters, Russian creoles and Kadiak Eskimo (Porter 1890:73).

In reference to this passage, it is interesting to note that some of the Chignik Lagoon people came from Mitrofania, and that the eldest man in Chignik Lake was from there.

> To the eastward of Chignik bay, on the Semidi group of islands, the Alaska Commercial Company established nearly 10 years ago a so-called "fox farm." Blue foxes from the Pribilof islands and black or silver foxes from the mainland were landed upon the uninhabited islands and left to multiply. During the first years of the experiment small parties of Natives were sent to the islands during the summer to hunt seals and sea lions for their hides, and to leave the carcasses as food for the foxes. Of late years, however, a permanent watchman has been employed, and the enterprise is reported as yielding a good profit (Porter 1890:53).

In April 1890 the cannery ship Oneida, enroute to Thin Point, struck an island on the Sanaks and reportedly nearly all of the 77 Chinese on board were lost. In 1893 the Thin Point plant joined the Alaska Packers Association, and then in 1894 moved to Naknek River where it became a part of the Arctic Packing Company. However, the Alaska Packers Association continued to operate a saltery at Thin Point from 1894 through 1896, when they abandoned that location (Cobb 1930:61).

1892 The three canneries on Chignik Lagoon worked out an agreement and joined the pool of the Alaska Packing Association. The Shumagin building was moved next to the Chignik Bay Company cannery to form one large facility which had a capacity of 2,600 cases per day (Moser 1899:165).

1896 During this year, the Chignik Bay Company employed 73 white fishermen and 3 white coal miners; 13 whites and 158 Chinese in the cannery; and "33 natives were kept at various employments" (Moser 1899:165). This reference is especially interesting because it reveals the extent to which non-Natives were involved in the fishing; at the same time, it leaves one wondering what were the "various employments" the Natives undertook.

"The Chignik Bay company used 3 gill nets, 150 fathoms long, 6 1/4 inch mesh, valued at 65 cents per fathom; 9 traps, 1,350 feet long, at $1,000 each; 5 drag seines, 200 fathoms long, 3-inch mesh, 100 meshes deep at bunt, at $1.50 per fathom" (Moser 1899:165).

In addition, the following boats, crews, and values were reported for 1896:

The steamer, Afognak. 38 tons. Crew of 9.
Value: $15,750.
Stern-wheeler steamer, Baby Ruth. 10 tons.
Crew of 3. Value: $4,500.
7 lighters at $500 each
10 trap scows. $200 each
2 pile-drivers at $650 each
12 seine and gill-net boats, at $125 each
Ship, Llewellyn J. Morse. 1,271 net tons.
Value: $25,000. (Moser 1899:165).

The contracts for the Chinese and fishermen varied from one cannery to the next. Here, for example, are some typical scales. The Chinese were paid 40 cents per case for machine-filled cans and 45 cents for hand-filled. Their transportation from San Francisco and their accommodations at the cannery were free, but they provided their own food. In 1896, one of the canneries in Chignik paid fishermen $30 per month and one-fourth a cent per case, and provided their board. In 1897 Scandinavian fishermen got these rates, but Italians had different arrangements: $20 per month, $12.50 per 1,000 fish, and a daily allowance of 35 cents per man (Moser 1899:167). At this time nearly all the fishermen were foreigners and were placed in two classes: the "north countrymen" or "white crew," and the "dagoes" who were Italians and Greeks. In the canneries the packing was done almost exclusively by Chinese. Thus we can see that distinctions between classes of workers based on ethnicity were a part of the fishing industry from the beginning.

In 1896 Hume Bros & Hume built a cannery on the eastern side of Anchorage Bay, and yet another company, Pacific Steam Whaling Co., built one about one-fourth a mile south of Hume's. Both operated in 1896 and 1897. In 1901 they consolidated with Pacific Packing and Navigation Co, which failed in 1904. Cobb reports Northwestern Fisheries bought the two Chignik canneries, but it is not clear from the source (Cobb 1930:60) whether a total of two or four canneries was meant. The table in Moser (1899:56 & 58) indicates at least three canneries operating in the area in both 1896 and 1897: two in Anchorage Bay and one at Chignik Lagoon.

1897 The total number of persons employed in all of the Alaskan fisheries in this year was 5,252; Kodiak and Chignik accounted for 1,577 (30%). The three Chignik area canneries employed a total of 213 white men; 172 of them fishermen and 41 "other" employees. No Natives were reported employed. (See table Moser 1899:58). So it was that commercial fishing was introduced into the Chignik area.

In summary, the height of cannery operations in Alaska occurred in 1889 when a total of 37 canneries were at work. Fifteen (41%) of this total were in the Kodiak and Chignik area. The total estimated capital invested was approximately $3,623,200, including buildings, machinery, boats and fishing gear. Of this, Kodiak and Chignik accounted for about $1,741,000 (48%). The report on output over a 16 year period (1882-1898) indicates that of the total Alaska pack, the Chignik and Kodiak region accounted for 43.8%, and of that Chignik had 8.1% (Moser 1899:50). By 1897, the number of canneries had dropped to 29; ten (34%) of these were in the Kodiak and Chignik area.

1901 The post office was established at Chignik; Hume was the first postmaster. Later postmasters included Brun (1908-1919), Wallin (1919-23), Erickson (1923-24), Skonberg (1953-55; 1957) and Carlson (1955-57); all of these are familiar local names that appear on current kinship charts. Other postmasters included Davidson (1905); Laflin (1924-38); Klinkenberg (1938-40); Stiffler (1940-43); Gregoris (1943-46); Dieringer (1947); Covich (1946), Hughes (1948-51), and Hicks (1951-52). One wonders if these latter are the names of cannery employees.

1922 Kanatak became a boomtown. In August, the town at the head of Portage Bay:

> was changed in a short time from a settlement of from 10 to 15 whites to a boom town with tents, cabins, and frame buildings numbering a hundred or more and with a population of 150 to 200, which has been augmented by still others arriving on every boat (Report of the Governor of Alaska 1923:30).

Two steamers had landed equipment for drilling for oil. By the spring of 1923, two drilling rigs were set up and by May 5 it was reported that "one well had been sunk to a depth of 600 feet and another 300 feet." As far as can be determined, it was a short-lived boom, but one that might be explored for more information. A number of present-day residents of Chignik Lake and

Chignik were born at Kanatak; the village was reported to have a population of 81 in 1942. (U. S. Congress, Investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Materials, Laws, and Treaties affecting Indians 1952:1392).

1923 Stepanoff's house was built at Anchorage Bay.

1942-43 Walter Stepanoff moved to Chignik from Ocean Beach. (The Skonbergs were also at Ocean Beach for a while.)

Here are some of the highlights since the end of World War II:

1947	Village-built dam on Indian Creek
1949	Slavic Gospel Mission started by school teachers
1959	Fish traps outlawed
1965	Peninsula Airways service began
1967	Village applied to the Public Health Service for a water and sewer system
1969	School built
1974	Crab processing at the cannery now called Chignik Pride
1974	Alaska Packers Association closes store, bought by Art Skonberg
1976	Old APA cannery burned, July 5 Cash buyers entered the fisheries
1978	Health Clinic remodeled Television at APA
1979	Peter Pan sold to Nichiro Gyogyo Kaisha, Ltd.
1979	Sealaska (Conagra) bought the APA cannery
1979	Road put in
1980	Stepanoff house burned (2 others also, Lena Anderson and Alice Skonberg)
1981	Gym built
1982	Telephones installed in homes Reception from two television stations provided through state satellite system, May 6
1983	Incorporation as a Second-class City, May Biggest salmon catch
1984	Ambulance purchased Water and Sewer project undertaken Community Hall built

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The relationship of people in this village is characterized by a changing population, with contrasts occurring especially between the summer and winter residents. An analysis of the four major village families reveals the existence of social links from these households outward, beyond the village. Important institutions include the school and the local churches. A consideration of the social activities organized during the winter of 1984-85 indicates there were more community events here than were reported elsewhere in the study area villages.

Demography

The population figures for the Chignik area vary widely. The reasons for the fluctuations are not entirely clear. By way of illustration, in 1950, the census reported 253 persons living at Chignik; in 1960, 99 persons. One explanation for the sudden decrease in population for the decade between 1950 and 1960 may be the establishment during that period of two other permanent communities. In 1950 there was no reported population at Chignik Lagoon, or Chignik Lake, though we know through other sources and field research that people lived in those communities then at least part of the year. Not until 1960 are these locations listed in census documents as separate from Chignik.

The 1960 census counted 108 people at Chignik Lagoon and 107 at the Lake. What seems most reasonable is that the 253 recorded at "Chignik" in 1950 were dispersed into the three Chignik communities by 1960. That is, some Chignik Lagoon people were counted as living in "Chignik" in 1950 but ten years later were listed separately. In the meantime, as noted in the narrative on the Lake, that community became a winter village, perhaps drawing people from the dispersed "Chignik" and Ilnik area of the 1950's. Another possible explanation for the reported decrease in Chignik figures, and the sudden appearance of the two "new" villages, is that all three villages were in fact separate by 1950 but not reported in that way; and that any real decrease in Chignik "Bay" was a reflection of emigration of a major portion of the population to Kodiak.

The author believes there were three Chigniks in the 1950s: Chignik Bay at Anchorage Bay; Chignik Lagoon on the west side of the Lagoon; and another Chignik Lagoon on the east side, near the spit and channel. The latter community had moved to Chignik Lake by 1960. The confusion about the three "Chigniks" may explain why some people who were in fact residents of Chignik Lagoon, and living in Kodiak at the time of ANCSA enrollment, ended up enrolled to "Chignik," i.e. the Bay. In any case, there is no question there are four Chigniks in 1985: Chignik at Anchorage Bay, Chignik Lagoon on the Flat side, Chignik Lagoon on the CWF (cannery) side, and Chignik Lake.

A further indication of the changing population dynamics of Chignik Bay was found during the data gathering for this study. A research assistant identified a total of 88 residents living in the village on December 16, 1984. Twenty-three (26%) were non-Native and 65 (74%) Native. But a different figure was reached when a household count was made on May 7, 1985. Then the city of Chignik had 91 residents; 82 (90%) Native and 9 (10%) non-Native. (Note that this is just 8 less than the 1960 census count, but 87 less than the 1980 census that recorded 178.)

Between December and the following May, two white families had left, and some Native individuals were returning for the summer. These figures highlight the difficulties of obtaining accurate data at any one time because the figures can vary from season to season and year to year. For example, the 1969 community survey form indicated then, as now, many people moved to Kodiak during the winter; (this document states for that year the village had a population of 109 with 18 school aged children). Furthermore, it seems likely the winter population fluctuation will occur in some communities more than others. For instance, during the 1980's the fluctuating winter population of Chignik Bay appears greater than elsewhere in the subarea.

The following analysis is based on the May, 1985 figure of 91 individuals. These residents lived in 24 separate households. Sixteen households were Native, five were of mixed marriages (two non-Native women to Native men; three non-Native men to Native women) and three households of single non-Native persons, including the teachers and missionary. The average number per household was 3.8.

The people were distributed in the households in the following manner:

Household	Number	Total
1	6	6
2	1	2
3	5	15
4	4	16
5	3	15
6	-	-
7	4	28
8	-	-
9	1	9
Sum	24	91

Thirteen households were nuclear families (54%) and six were single person households (25%). Other arrangements included three generation households (3, or 12.5%) and in each case the third generation was added through a daughter's child. Finally, there was household of a woman and two sons, and a household of a man and his son.

Summer residents. At least 25 more households and 84 individuals can be identified as coming to Chignik Bay during the summer. Their winter locations and numbers are:

Residence	Households	Total persons	
Kodiak	12	43	(51%)
Seattle	5	14	(17%)
Anchorage	1	5	
Seward	1	3	
Hawaii	1	3	
Guam	1	2	
Florida	1	1	
Unknown	3	13	
Total	25	84	

In addition, at least 20 persons from Ivanof Bay come to Chignik Bay for the summer. Thus, the population of Chignik doubles each summer, not counting the number of cannery workers which depends on whether or not both fish processing units are operating.

Winter residents. The winter residents in the village in 1984-85 had been born in at least 12 different Alaskan communities, and, with the non-Natives included, at least five different states Outside, plus Australia and the Philippines. For 85 residents (93% of the total of 91), birthplaces were distributed as follows:

Chignik	24 (28%)
Kodiak	10 (12%)
Chignik Lagoon	6 (7%)
Anchorage	21 (25%)
Dillingham	9 (11%)

Reflected in the last two figures are the younger residents who were born in the PHS hospitals at Kanakanak (near Dillingham) and Anchorage. In addition to the ones listed, other Alaskan communities included Chignik Lake, Bethel, Ilnik, Ocean Beach, Perryville, Seldovia and Valdez. Other states were Washington, New York, Arizona, California and Michigan.

Kinship and Family

The 1984-85 winter population of 91 included 85 members of four major families, distributed as follow :

Anderson	8 households	35 persons	(38%)
Skonberg	4 households	18 persons	(20%)
Carlson	5 households	18 persons	(20%)
Stepanoff	3 households	14 persons	(15%)

Actually the Anderson family is larger than this, if one counts a family of 7 listed under Skonberg; in this case, an Anderson woman married a Skonberg man. With this overlap, the Anderson population dominance increases; during the winter they include 9 households (38% of the winter total of 24 households) and 42 persons (46% of the winter total of 91).

However, the proportions between the major families is greatly modified during the summer when 9 households of Carlsons return with a total of 28 persons. This makes the Carlson summer total 14 households and 46 persons. Five households of Skonbergs return from Kodiak with a total of 20 persons, but here again an overlap occurs - a Skonberg married to a Carlson. Only 1 Anderson was identified as returning just for the summer and no Stepanoffs appear on the summer list.

In summary, the ranks of the Skonbergs and Carlsons more than double in the summer time. However, a more accurate count and distribution should be based on data from several summers, and it should include the Kalmakoff family from Ivanof Bay. Since they are relatives of Lena Kalmakoff Anderson, those twenty or so Kalmakoffs might contribute to the overall lead of the Anderson population even during the summer.

Social Links

In addition to the kinship ties within the village, each family has extensive connections beyond the community. For example, Nancy Brun Skonberg has relatives in Seldovia, Missouri, California and Washington; her father came originally from Norway. Andy and Lillian Stepanoff have five daughters and two sons; three have married Pedersens at Chignik Lagoon, one daughter is in Seattle and another in Kodiak. Another Stepanoff family, Walter and Bill, have ties through their mother, Mary Naumoff, to Afognak (now Port Lions); and, through a sister, links to Ouzinkie.

Claudia Lind Carlson, has ties to all the Linds and Andres at Chignik Lake and all the Carlsons in Chignik, Seattle and Kodiak. Further her great grandfathers came from Finland, Sweden and Old Harbor, and she is linked through her grandmother's sister to all the Petersons at Akhiok. This is an example of how diverse the background is for the people of the Chignik region; they have ties to the Old World, including Russia and Scandinavia, and throughout the north Pacific.

The School

In the 1930s only a summer school was held at Chignik. Walter Stepanoff remembers his teacher was Mrs. Richardson. In 1968 the main school was built and in 1979-80 another classroom building added. The high school classroom cost $300,000. A gym was built in 1981 for $895,000. School staff in 1984-85 consisted of a principal teacher, an elementary teacher, a preschool teacher for half-time, and itinerant music and art teachers. A custodian provided service for five hours a day and the cook for four. A special education aide worked 5 hours and recreation aides, paid with JOM funds, supervised gym activities at night.

All the teachers for the 1984-85 year were new to Chignik Bay. In November, 23 students were enrolled and on May 7, 1985, a total of 26 were present. The high school, which had been open for a few years, was closed. The four high school students attended elsewhere (Kodiak and Anchorage) for a part of the year; however, at least two returned to continue their high school independently.

On the first day of this researcher's visit, November 11, 1984, a community schools meeting was held. Nine attended, including four teachers, 2 small children and 3 local mothers. The range of ideas discussed was impressive. Included were a first aid class, ground school course, book fair, basket weaving, dart games, bingo, masking, mother-daughter get-togethers, rummage sales, college courses, computer games, music lessons, a children's choir, game night, Christmas party, turkey shoot, small engine repair class, weight lifting for the boys, peewee wrestling, seine and net mending, survival classes, threewheeler and hunting safety, GED tests, and a community-wide Thanksgiving dinner.

The Churches

The earliest church was the Russian Orthodox, but in 1984-85 no services had been held for quite some time, except for an occasional wedding. The building was old and seriously deteriorated. However, in the summer of 1985, a community dinner was organized to raise money to rebuild the church, and discussion included having a full time permanent priest from Kodiak. More than 100 people attended the July dinner and donations totalled over $1000. The food included traditional Russian dishes, and entertainment was provided by a band that played waltzes, polkas and schottisches (an interesting reflection on the ethnic mix of the community). Another fund raiser was planned for August, 1985. The leaders of this revitalization effort were Harold Skonberg and Carl Carlson (Southwest Journal: August 1, 1985). It is interesting to note here that both live in Kodiak during the winter.

In 1949, the Chignik Bible Chapel was established under the auspices of the Slavic Gospel Association. The founder of the Association was Peter Deyneka who came from Russia to Chicago when he was 18 years old. Although he was of Russian Orthodox background, he was converted after arriving in the United States. He started a Bible school in 1934 with the special intent of reaching Russian and other Slavic people. When Deyneka heard of the Russian influence in Alaska, a special mission was established to concentrate on the North Pacific villages. Olga Eriksen was one of the first missionaries; she served chapels in Chignik, Ivanof Bay, Perryville, King Cove, Port Lions, Kenai and Kodiak. The first missionaries to Perryville were May Light and Barbara Crozier.

A transition occurred in the summer of 1984 when the Slavic Gospel Association merged with Arctic Missions. One purpose was to allow the Gospel Association to concentrate more on an urban ministry to Slavic people; Arctic Missions had more Alaskan personnel and experience and so was deemed in a better position to serve villages. During the winter of 1984-85, Betty Kirsh provided the leadership at the Chignik Bible Chapel. Ms. Kirsh came to the United States from Australia in 1964, and attended four years of Bible college in Chicago before coming to Alaska. The church contributes to the Chapel's upkeep and fuel, but not to her salary, which she raises herself through private sponsors.

The weekly schedule for the Chapel called for two services on Sunday: one at 2 p.m. for Sunday school; the second at 7 p.m. for a regular church service. Other activities included two classes on a weekly basis: preschoolers on Tuesday at 1:30, and the older children on Thursday after school. In addition, a sewing group met on Tuesday evenings and a prayer meeting was held on Wednesday. Particular occasions, like Thanksgiving and Christmas, have special presentations. At Easter, a breakfast and church service was held and, on Mother's Day, a special mothers and daughters dinner.

Ms. Kirsh had served the community eight years earlier and noted many changes in the village's social activities. Before, there had not been much competition over the timing of activities. For example, the teachers would not schedule activities at school when there was something planned at the church. But now there are activities in the village nearly every night: village council meetings, city council meetings, school meetings, and exercise classes, to name a few. Indeed the social activities of Chignik Bay, in contrast to the other villages, seem to be unusual in their number, diversity, and frequency.

Health and Vital Statistics

Tina Wallin Carlson was the health aide until 1982; she served for 14 years before she resigned. In the fall of 1984, Jeannette Carlson, her daughter-in-law, became the health aide. The 1980 health statistics show that care was provided for 152 outpatients and 63 inpatients, primarily at the Anchorage PHS hospital (55 cases). In the summer of 1984 there was a serious 3-wheeler accident, and it was recognized that drugs were present in the summer months. The policy at that time was that, in an emergency, the Public Health Service would pay the patient's way to the hospital, but the patient had to pay the way back.

In 1984, six children were born, and in the spring of 1985, two women were pregnant. There were two emergency evacuations. An ambulance was available in the village. In 1985 a physician's assistant was expected to be funded with state-city shared revenues. Here are some additional selected statistics from the State Vital Statistics records for 1970-1984:

- Between 1970 and 1984, a total of 36 births were recorded for Chignik Bay. The average number of births per year over that 15 year period was 2.4 babies, with none in 1974 and 1975, but 8 in the year 1982.

- Between 1977 and 1984 there were a total of 7 marriages. Between 1973 and 1983, there were eight divorces. Between 1970 and 1980 there were 4 deaths, three of them of individuals over 50.

Village Activities

Earlier, in the context of the school and the churches, reference was made to the scheduled, organized events that seem to occur in Chignik Bay more frequently than in the other Chignik villages. As an aside, it is interesting that these events also seem to occur on time, perhaps another distinctive characteristic of this community.

The following is a chronological list of some events which were recorded by a local research assistant:

1984
Summer - Community Hall built.
September 2 - First public occasion in the community hall:
    an Orthodox wedding of Mark Bunnell and Lorraine Anderson.
October 27 - Halloween Party. Cakewalk and best costume award.

November 22 - Special Thanksgiving Church service. Dinner at the community hall attended by about 60 people.
December 10 - Book fair.
December 15 - Bake sale at the Community Hall.
December 16 - Santa Claus flew in from King Salmon and handed out stockings to the kids.
December 17 - School Christmas play at the Community Hall.
December 24 - Most of the women went caroling.

1985

A potluck and New Year's Eve dance was planned for December 31, 1984 but because of bad weather they were cancelled; the potluck was held instead on January 1, 1985.
January 1 - Strong earthquake felt at 8:35 p.m.
January 5 - City council meeting.
January 12- New pilings added to the bridge.
March 13 - First ferry of the year came in.
March 21 - Brian Aklin and Tikum Carlson went to Hook Bay on the FV Ryan Lee to take fuel to a Fish and Game group who were flying there in a helicopter.
March 21 - Dana Hart & Jane Lind put on a show at the Community Hall.
March 22 - School children put on a show at the Community Hall.
March 28 - Pioneer Western boat from Seattle. (Wednesday night bingo games started sometime between February and April. Also, a ping-pong tournament was held).
April 7-May 15 - Dolly varden fish derby.
April 9 - Eye doctor arrived.
April 13 - Western Pioneer boat arrived from Seattle.
April 15 - First dolly varden caught.
April 16 - Snowing.
April 17 - We heard movie star Tom Selleck was in Kodiak to go hunting.
April 19 - Meeting with Trefon Angason from BBNC.
April 20 - Community Hall potluck and dance.
April 27 - Halibut season opened for 2 or 3 days.
April 29 - City has surveyors here.

This mix of local events, involving the frequent use of the community hall, the coming and going of visitors, and occurrences ranging from earthquakes to potlucks, gives a sense of the rhythm of activities in the winter of 1984-85.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

When John Petterson visited Chignik Bay in the early 1980s, he reported the community was "poised for change" and that "political activity will be more pronounced in this community than in other communities in the Chignik subregion" (Petterson et al. 1982:126; 157-158). This projection was confirmed on the field trips in November of 1984 and May 1985. In 1980, the village did not have a water and sewer system, a community-wide electrical system, television reception, a fire department, a village public safety officer, telephones in the homes, a restaurant, or land for sale.

By 1985 most of these existed and the residents were anticipating even more changes. For example, in 1985 they expected the water and sewer project to be completed, and they were preparing for the construction of 15 HUD houses, an emergency shelter harbor, an expanded runway at the airfield, a weather station, and a wave meter. They had hired a city administrator in 1984. In addition, the villagers were awaiting the arrival of a physician's assistant and a grant for a bulk storage facility; and they were circulating a petition for increased ferry service, adding two trips, one in August and another in November.

Much had happened, and Chignik Bay appeared well on its way to becoming the regional center. Central to the changes was the fact that, in May, 1983, the community had incorporated as a second class city. Part of the motivation for incorporation was to obtain half of the revenues received by the state as fish tax, an estimated $250,000 to $300,000 annually. The move to incorporate was not without opposition. Petterson reported on the development of factions, which although probably traditional, most likely were further solidified by conflict over incorporation (1982:142).

In 1985 there were problems, and resistance was expressed to the rate of change that seemed underway. Petterson's report of factions over incorporation appeared confirmed. But one expectation that had not come to pass was an anticipated increase in population; at least it had not occurred by 1985. Somehow all the new facilities had not persuaded people to stay. Even so, with less than 100 people, the community seemed alive with activity. The number of meetings of the city council provides a measure of the rate of change and the intensity of developments. Between September 1983 and the end of that year, 27 meetings were held. During 1984, the council met 56 times. Between January 1, 1985 through April, 1985, 19 more meetings had been called. The total number of council meetings held between incorporation in May 1983 to May 1985 was 102. This is an average of one a week for the full two years. Actually there were some occasions when as many as 7 meetings were held in one month (January 1985). Considering the nature of the small villages of Alaska, the total of 102 in a two year period may well be a record. Fortunately Nina Anderson, the city clerk, has kept excellent and thorough minutes of the meetings documenting how this community went about assuming its responsibilities as a second class city. Her written record is a valuable resource and a future analysis of the content would provide important insights into the political processes at work.

Leadership

Two groups reflect the village leadership: the city council and the traditional council. Members of the 1984-85 city council were:

Mayor	Darrel Gray
Vice Mayor	George Tinker
Secretary	Lorena Patterson
Treasurer	Walter Stepanoff
Members	Ernie Carlson
	Chickie Carlson
	Lona Anderson

Of the seven members, two had lived in Chignik Bay most of their lives, although one did not happen to be there during 1984-85. Three had married into the village: one person from Aleknagik, one from the Lagoon, and the third from Outside. The oldest member of the council was a long-time resident of the village. There were three non-Native council members, two affiliated with the cannery and one who married into the village. Also note that three members were women. Overall their average age was 39 years. Analysis of the village council membership in 1981 reveals some continuity between the earlier group (before incorporation) and the new city council of 1985: three individuals served on both. However, five of the 1981 members were not living in Chignik Bay during the winter of 1984-85, another indication of the mobility of the population.

In 1984-85 the traditional council was led by George Tinker, who also served on the city council as vice mayor (this was the only overlap between the two bodies that year). The traditional council includes four persons for whom Chignik Bay has been home for most of their lives. The average age of the members is 46 years. In 1985 the traditional council members were:

President	George Tinker
Vice President	Billy Anderson
Secretary	Lars Anderson
Treasurer	Tina Carlson
Member	Roy Skonberg

No systematic information about the activities of the traditional council was obtained during the course of this research, but they seemed not to be active in land claims issues.

ANCSA and Land Issues

In response to the general inquiry, "How has the land claims changed life here?" five people simply responded, "No change." Other individuals suggested they did not really want to comment; for example, one tribal council leader said he had not been studying it. In responding, however, four people mentioned land. And others spoke about the paper work involved in 14(c) matters, about holding on to corporation stock, and referred to giving money outright to elders. One person commented, "It's not changed (life) a bit, but the city has caused more changes. Outsiders too much." Also there was a statement that the cannery was "surveying land away from the Native people." These observations suggest there are topics of concern beyond land claims.

Indeed, here as at Chignik Lagoon, cannery-owned land was for sale. For example, one white family bought two lots adjacent to the cannery for $13,000 each, and a Native elder for $12,800 bought outright from APA the land where his house had been built many years ago. New constraints on land and construction were also reflected in this statement:

> Now you can't build where want to build. You have to buy the land. You have to get it from the Council. Before you could just build where you want to.

Finally, the mayor noted, "It's not much (change now), but it's going to be. It has stopped development. Now they can't just build anywhere. Some of the surveying and subdividing is going on now, and they won't be able to sell for less than the appraised value." A land sale by the city was anticipated during 1986.

In Chignik Bay, ANCSA land issues, the sale of land by the cannery, land allotments, and the incorporation of the city all appear to be blending into a series of concerns; and the city structure may be ending up with the blame for it all. Already some problems had been encountered by the city concerning native allotments in the vicinity of the extension of the runway. A land exchange with the school was underway to allow a road easement. A list of individuals who have filed for allotments in the vicinity of Chignik Bay included a total of 19 different persons (3 from the Lakes) and 36 different parcels of land; a total of 1720.3 acres is involved. The status of these applications was not assessed for this study.

Shareholder Addresses and Blood Quantum analysis. The following analysis is based on addresses of ANÇSA enrollees to the Chignik Bay Native Corporation, Far West. The addresses, while not necessarily verifying residence, do give an indication of where shareholders receive mail from the regional corporation, the Bristol Bay Native Corporation. The analysis is based on BBNC's list dated February 15, 1985. BBNC listed a total of 296 different names enrolled to Chignik Bay. Of these, two are known to be deceased, 5 have their mail held at the regional offices, and 12 have no known addresses. Deleting these 19 individuals leaves 277 addresses of individuals holding shares in this particular village corporation.

More enrollees had addresses in Kodiak (21%) than in Chignik Bay (19%). However, by adding the 6 names with Chignik Lake addresses and 8 for Chignik Lagoon, the Alaska Peninsula subregion gains a slight edge in enrollees (24%) over Kodiak Island. One address was in Dillingham and another in the village of Clark's Point. Thus the total living within the boundaries of BBNC as reported in the records is 68, or 25% of the Chignik Bay village corporation's shareholders. Elsewhere in Alaska, 49 had Anchorage addresses. When those living in Eagle River, Wasilla and Palmer are added (10), then 21% were living in the vicinity of Alaska's major city. Other Alaskan communities include Holy Cross (3), and one each in Chitina, Kenai, and Point Hope. In sum, shareholders enrolled to Chignik Bay lived in 6 different Native Regions, about equally divided among three: BBNC (68), Cook Inlet (60), and Koniag (59). This accounts for 97% of the Chignik enrollees who live in Alaska.

However, nearly one third (31%) of the Far West Corporation shareholders had addresses outside the state of Alaska. There were 85 addresses located in 14 different states. Of the 85, 37 lived in Washington state, with another 13 in California. Counting the one lone Oregon address, 60% (51) of the Outside enrollees were living on the West Coast. The other states represented on the list include: Minnesota (14), Louisiana (6), Maryland (5), Hawaii (2) and one each in Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Illinois, North Carolina, New Mexico and Oklahoma.

To summarize the distribution of the shareholders' addresses for this one village corporation, we see they are located in 16 different Alaskan communities, including 6 different Native Regions, and 14 different states Outside. With such a wide diffusion of enrollees, it is not surprising that the few shareholders still living in the village find it hard to elicit much interest in corporation activities, or votes, for local development which might assist the year round residents of this small village; the local shareholders represent less than 20% of the total.

Given this wide geographic distribution of shareholders, the question of how many enrollees are full, half or one-quarter "Native" takes on added interest. We can presume any original gene pool experienced mixing at different historic periods. For instance, there was some early 19th century Russian contact, followed by late 19th century Scandinavian inmigration, and there have been periodic intermarriages in the 20th century. The problem of identifying "blood quantum" must have been quite difficult in villages like Chignik Bay where the history of genetic mix is extensive. Data on the percentage of blood quantum was available for 280 enrollees identified as "Native." Of that number, 20% (55) were 3/4ths or more Native, with 11% (30) as full Native. At the opposite end of the spectrum, 35% (99) were ¼ or less Native, including 14 who had no identifiable Native blood (presumably they inherited or were given shares). Thus, on this particular criterion, fourteen years after the enactment of ANCSA, 5% of the shareholders of this one village corporation were non-Native, 35% were a quarter or less Native, 69% were one-half or less, and 31% were more than 50% Native. (The distribution is very similar to that for Chignik Lagoon.)

On the other hand, a quite different picture is seen when one looks at the study area as a whole. When the blood quantum distributions of the three other villages are added, the overall distribution indicates 63% of the enrollees in the five villages are more than 50% Native. Forty-seven percent (313 enrollees) are 50% or less "Native." (The latter number includes 16 shareholders who would not be considered "Native.") The political implications of these proportions remains to be seen. It would not be surprising, however, if questions are raised in the future concerning the role of village corporations with such far flung shareholders. Where they are located when 1991 arrives could be another factor of importance. And finally the definition of "Native" and what proportion by then is seen as "non-Native" could have critical political implications.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

This section begins with a focus on subsistence-related behavior, including preferred foods, hunting and fishing activities, and sources of purchased goods. A discussion of costs and jobs provides transition to topics related to commercial fishing and the canneries. The complexity of Chignik Bay's cultural and social make-up is reflected in both the presence of fish processing plants and the recent development of city status and compounded by the seasonal fluctuation of people and activities.

Food Preferences

Subsistence items headed the list in discussions about "favorite foods." Ten people identified local foods first, although Japanese, Chinese and prime rib were also mentioned. One man said he really liked seal liver, "but we don't get them any more;" another declared fried clams in the shell as a favorite. Duck was listed by 3 individuals but only one person mentioned caribou. One family said they had fish only about once a month.

Some insights can be gained from considering the actual foods eaten for main meals. Information about 15 meals served in ten different households (42% of the 24 homes occupied) was gathered during the two trips; the topic of this focused discussion was, "What did you eat last night?" The people living in these households totalled 40 (44% of the residents). Of the 15 meals, seven included a subsistence food: moose stew, salted red salmon, duck, canned salmon, salted salmon tips, fried fish, and fish pie. The fish pie was served at a birthday dinner that also had ham, turkey, potato salad, jello, coleslaw and cakes. Foods obtained from stores were eaten at meals of pea soup and pilot bread, short ribs, rib roast, chicken (stuffing, gravy, beans and cookies), chicken chow mein, cube steak, roast and mashed potatoes.

"Chicken is cheaper," declared Billy Anderson as we ate the excellent duck soup his wife Annie had prepared from the seven ducks their sons had bagged on a hunting trip. Indeed, by the time the boat, equipment, shotgun shells, gas and time were assessed, those seven duck were expensive.

Subsistence activities

Turning then to subsistence activities, the range of participation is reflected in the following descriptions. One family indicated they obtained and used few local foods. This group had seal "a long time ago" but no longer eat it. They "used to get berries, but didn't have a chance this fall." A family member "used to hunt moose and caribou, but not this fall." Their dependence on the local store was high.

In contrast, a different family had recently caught fresh cod and other fish off the local dock. An older couple, they put up 40 to 50 salmon a year and give 10 to 15 away, sending some to their daughter in Anchorage, and some to Kodiak. Some of the fish also is dispatched to two sisters in California. The couple has sent caribou to relatives in Kodiak, and from them received venison in return. How far the fish and caribou was further distributed was not determined, but one daughter in Kodiak who received fish gave some to her in-laws. Cranberries also get sent at Thanksgiving time. From Anchorage, the family has received blackberries. This couple also distributes some salmon locally, including to the bookkeeper and superintendent at the cannery. But they refuse to sell their smoked salmon; in order to have salmon, they insist local people are going to have to learn to preserve it themselves. Although they share generously, they won't sell even though the demand for their fish is greater than the supply.

Yet another example of subsistence use was a man who put up 15 to 16 fish in the fall of 1984; on May 8, 1985 he ate the last one. Often, in the course of village research, it emerged that the more avid subsistence advocates and participants were non-Natives. In Chignik Bay, a Filipino man, while hunting with his wife's relatives, got two caribou. The mayor (superintendent of one of the fish processing plants) in 1984 bagged a caribou, and a bear, and put up 200 subsistence fish. Some of the fish he sent to his wife's relatives and some he gave to a local family. One young non-Native man was active as a trapper.

Goods bought from stores. Unlike other villagers in the region, Chignik Bay residents buy relatively little from Anchorage. The city has a dock, and service is provided by Western Pioneer, so most of the local supplies come from Seattle. The people buy from firms like Sonne Link, McDonalds, Roggy, and Sealink; one family said they sometimes order from Patricks in Anchorage. Three of nine households reported they got most of their food at the local store. The store's policy on credit was to allow a maximum line of $300. Travel to the Lagoon cannery store was sometimes mentioned, but overall it appeared much less frequently visited by Chignik Bay than by the Chignik Lake residents. The local store owner was obtaining goods from Seattle, including produce from Pacific Fruits and Produce. Freight costs were estimated at about 5 to 7 cents/lb. However, the owner was going to change to a parcel delivery service from Anchorage, Frontier Expediter. Their cost was estimated as 60 cents/lb. As in Larsen Bay, difficulties had been encountered in Chignik Bay over transporting goods across the Sealaska dock.

Costs and Cash

One resident who works as a fishing crew member said he could live comfortably in the village with his family of 4 for about $33,000 a year. Here were some of the general costs in Chignik Bay in 1984-85.

Diesel:	$1.20 a gallon (down from $1.40 in 1982)
Gas:	1.30 a gallon (down from $1.50 in 1982)
Propane	$70 in November but up to $80 in May, 1985

Oil for heat was one of the larger household expenses: up to $500 a month. For one one-bedroom house, costs were $300 for electricity and $120 for fuel. Telephone bills were reported to be as high as $500 (perhaps the novelty of communicating electronically with relatives had not yet worn off). Yet another household reported $165-200 a month for electricity.

In discussing the topic, "When you get some extra money, what do you like to do with it?" five answered they would pay their bills, or buy groceries. One individual treats extra cash just the same as "fishing money." A non-Native resident banked his Permanent Fund dividend check, and one couple took a trip to Fairbanks with theirs. Chartering a plane to bring in alcohol from Sand Point was mentioned; one such order was reported to cost $1600. One person said he didn't remember what he did with his extra money. When asked about the BBNC dividend (of $33 a quarter) the response was laughter, so that line of inquiry was dropped. Far West, the village corporation, on one occasion gave a dividend of $500.

Jobs and Employment

There were at least 27 different jobs for local people in 1984-85. They included:

Cannery personnel: 4 at one plant and
2 caretaking at another
City positions: City administrator±
City clerk
Maintenance
Water and sewer project:
3 workers at $15 an hour
and one supervisor at $20/hr.
School jobs: five, and two gym attendants.
Post office: 1
Store: 2 part time
Road maintenance: 1
Health Aide and alternate
VPSO (Village Public Safety Officer)

In 1985 this was the only village in the subregion with a VPSO, a current water and sewer project, year-round cannery jobs, and a full-time city administrator and city clerk. For a small village, there seemed to be many jobs, although many of them are part-time.

Commercial Fishing

A total of 12 local limited entry permit holders were identified, but of these only seven lived in the village during the winter of 1984-85. Three were in Kodiak, one in Seattle and one spent part of the winter in Anchorage. Five of the seven residing in the village participated in focused discussions. These men and some of their crew members have fished nearly all their lives, beginning as young as seven years old. Some of their wives used to work in the cannery, but as one said she quit because she got spoiled--her husband made so much more money.

Both gross earnings for most and expenses for all commercial fishermen have greatly increased in recent years. For example, information was shared for four boats in three different villages; the range for gross earnings was estimated from $185,000 to $275,000. The latter was cited as a figure among the top 4 or 5 in the region. The biggest year was reported by one fisherman to have been 1984, which may partly explain why so many families lived elsewhere during that winter. (Education for their children also was offered as a reason by some families).

Turning to expenses, one boat owner pointed to the need to make $25,000 to $30,000 before any profit was realized. Examples of costs include maintenance, insurance, and replacement of equipment. A new outboard motor requires $5000 to $6000. One man, with an older boat, had just installed an engine that cost $28,000. His insurance is $3000 for the fishing period from April to September. Most men owned their own boats, although at least one leased his for 20%. One owner bought a vessel in 1967 for $25,000 and another in 1981 for $198,000. Another owner bought his boat 7 years ago, and is paying between $5000 and $6000 a year on the loan; he said he has it almost paid for. Yet another individual was negotiating to buy a boat from a fisherman on Kodiak Island who could not make his payments. There is considerable competition for highlining. For example, it was reported one man from Chignik Lagoon took in 50,000 fish in one day; two men from the Bay took 40,000 and 30,000 respectively in a day.

The distribution of the 12 permits indicates that some extended families have several, whereas others do not have so many. For example, about half are held by one extended family. Although only one is held by the senior fisherman in another family, he reports that out of 8 men in his generation, four have permits and four are without. Another family has three permits. Yet another family has one, and the owner has six sons. Although more data over several years is needed to establish a trend, this information suggests that some fishermen who do exceptionally well fishing are the ones who may choose not to live in the village. On the other hand, some other families who do not fare so well, and have older boats, may not have an option to live elsewhere in the winter.

Crews and crew shares. There seems to be a growing problem with hiring an all-local crew, including one's relatives. The practice, however, is not gone completely. One man, who leases a boat, took four members of his family and his eldest daughter's son, who was age 13. Another man crews with his two sons and two men from Seattle. One permit holder hired a nephew and a nephew-in-law. Another takes two sons.

The shares these crew members earn varies. The 13-year old got 2%, the nephew and nephew-in-law were paid 10%, and the two sons earned 14%. The permit holder who hires his two sons said that in addition he expects in 1985 to "hire a young man from Kodiak who is 19 or 20 years old." This new crewman worked out well in fall fishing and was willing to work for a lesser percentage. Several men in the region said they were taking new young crew in the fall to "break them in" and, if they worked out, would hire them for the next season. One result is that fewer local men are hired. Complicating the situation is the feeling that some relatives don't work hard enough. For illustration, one man who fishes in the area, but does not live in the Chigniks, no longer takes relatives on his boat (other than his oldest son). "Relatives are too much trouble and don't work hard enough," he said.

Part of the difficulty may be that certain local residents dislike the intense competition that is required in modern fish harvesting. An individual who did not display much enthusiasm for fishing simply commented, "Too many boats out there." This observation is similar to that of a Karluk man who explained that Native men are dropping out of fishing because they are disinclined to compete in the modern way. At the same time, if you want to live in a village in the winter, it may be a good idea to hire local people including your relatives during the summer. This may lead to less fish caught, and less money earned, but it may at the same time maintain human relationships at a reasonable level so that the proper sense of equity exists during the winter. Several women commented they used to fish, but do not any more. One woman said the most she made crewing was $19,000, but she is married now and no longer crews. Throughout the area the women seem to be dropping out of both cannery work and fishing. However, some are picking up part-time jobs in winter as they become available.

The Fish Processing Plants

The plants are stilled called "canneries" but technically fish are no longer "canned" in the Chigniks. They are, rather, "processed." Red salmon is an attractive fish, and both local plants concentrate on freezing them. One of the local facilities, Chignik Pride, which used to be owned by Peter Pan, at one point was purchased and operated under the name CCFI by BBNC and five village corporations. In 1985 the owner was Bob Resoff of Seattle. In the course of this study, no discussion was held with personnel from the company. The other local plant, now called Sealaska, was bought in 1982 by a large national agribusiness firm, Conagra, based in Omaha, Nebraska. Among its holdings, Conagra owns Banquet Chicken and Armour Meats. The Chignik Bay facility used to be owned by Alaska Packers Association which was a part of Del Monte. In Alaska, Conagra also has acquired the former APA facilities in Cordova and Naknek.

Two discussions were held with Sealaska personnel: one in November with Dave Patterson, Superintendent of the plant; and the other in May, with Darrel Gray, the general manager and business agent. Patterson had been in the fish business for 14 years, half of them in Chignik where he had been superintendent for three years. He helped rebuild the cannery after a fire on July 5, 1976, and worked there during the height of the crab boom. In 1985 he and his family moved to another plant in Bristol Bay. Gray has been in the fishing business since 1970. Before that, he served in the Peace Corps in Micronesia for two years. He came to Chignik in 1984. Soon after arriving, he was elected mayor. The following summary is based on the focused discussions with Patterson and Gray.

In this part of Alaska, the crab fishery peaked between 1977 and 1980. In one year the plant processed two million pounds of king crab. Patterson called himself a "crab pimp" because he hustled crab off boats. For example, he would hear on the radio that there was a five-day wait to offload at Dutch Harbor, so he would call boats and tell them that Sealaska at Chignik could process their crab and they could be back out in the fishing grounds in two and a half days rather than waiting five days. The biggest year for salmon was 1983. In 1982, the plant processed 8 million lbs. of salmon; in 1983, a total of 13 million but, in 1984, only 2 million lbs. Other 1983 figures include, in addition to salmon, 3 million lbs. of tanner crab, 150,000 lbs. of king crab and 200,000 of dungeness.

In the fall of 1984 there was some uncertainty about whether the plant would open in 1985. During the summer of 1984, the only activity was custom processing for International Fisheries. Custom processing means someone else buys the fish, makes arrangements for the local plant to process it, and then the original company markets the product. There had been some discussion about preparing frozen TV salmon dinners. In the boom years, processing was a major operation and about 320 people were hired by the plant. In 1984, they hired 94 people, 35 or 36 from Seattle and the rest from Alaska. Only two local women worked at the cannery in 1984. The union, Local 37 in Seattle, does the initial selection, but the Superintendent and Conagra reserves the right to screen employees before they go to work. In 1985 the plant was to be leased to Aleutian Dragon Fisheries. The arrangements had been made several years previously. The new operators anticipated hiring about 110 people. For 1985, the cannery planned to lease only two boats: one to a Lake fisherman and the other to an Ivanof Bay fisherman. In sum, in 1889 there were two fish processing plants in Anchorage Bay at Chignik; in 1985 there were still two fish processing plants there, but the market, the financing, the equipment, the fishing boats and gear had clearly changed greatly over the hundred years.

Perhaps the best reflection of the changing relationships between the cannery, the fishermen, and the community is found in the employment picture. In 1984 only two local people worked at the plant; one of them was employed for $8 an hour, helping in the mess hall as a waitress and changing beds. To be considered for a job nowadays, a worker has to belong to the union. Local people feel they will be hired last. As far as the fishermen go, if you have credit at Sealaska, then it is expected that you will sell your fish first to that company. If the plant goes over its limit, then the fishermen can sell to anyone else. Some local fishermen depend on the company for fuel, net, outboard motors, and skiffs as well as for financing and insurance.

SUMMARY

Village Values and OCS activities

Chignik Bay is a complex town. Among its characteristics are a long history of relations with its canneries, extensive ties to Kodiak Island, and a changing seasonal population. Recently it has incorporated as a second class city, and has had to learn to deal with the ins-and-outs of municipal government. The shareholders of the village corporation are widely dispersed. Cannery lands have been put up for sale. Economically, there has been a change in the type and number of local jobs. Commercial fishermen depend on limited entry permits and, in this village, their distribution is particularly significant.

Given the fairly complicated interaction of these factors, what can be learned to help understand the values and attitudes of the residents? One topic, the first to be introduced in each discussion, was, "What do you like (best) about living here?" At Chignik Bay, the replies were marked by references to the peacefulness and quiet; on this, the 7 responses were a higher than usual number. One person added - "except when the ferry comes in!" Two women indicated they had lived there all their lives, which is why they liked it.

One father said there was no better place to bring up a family; another man noted you can come when, and go where you like, and "Do what you want." One woman didn't particularly like it in the winter, but did enjoy the summer. One man said it was the "Only place I can work;" he had been at the cannery since 1945. Clearly the people of Chignik value the quiet and the freedom found in living in a small village.

It is interesting to note that, in one focused discussion, a relative newcomer, the recently-elected mayor, expressed the values noted by others: "quietness, the wildlife, and being close to nature." Here as elsewhere, non-Natives who enjoy village life hold attitudes similar to those of the local, long-term residents.

Another topic eliciting information on attitudes was, "What kinds of changes have been going on here?" In this instance, the residents showed less unanimity, a reflection perhaps of uncertainty about change and the rate it was occurring in 1984-85. Of eleven responses, six were negative and five basically supportive. The negative comments included:

> I don't like it at all; Pretty soon we'll have to pay for water.
>
> Before, I used to live off the land. No more. So many regulations. Don't know what the season's are. [A reference to fish and game rules.]
>
> White people are taking over.
>
> I don't like being a second class city.

Perhaps part of the resistance to incorporation was the threat villagers perceived this action might impose upon their peace and freedom. Also there was concern voiced about the intrusion of tourists.

Positive comments about the changes included reference to the state oil revenues that led to the current water and sewer project:

> Without oil money things would be just like in the 1930's.
>
> Independence (through city incorporation).
>
> Now there are more jobs.
>
> Change is a good pace.

One person said the road made a big difference. Before 1980-81, you had to take a skiff to the airstrip. Of course, it is not just how many comments were made but also their distribution; who made which observation is important. Here it must be noted that the older, long-term residents were the ones voicing the greatest resistance to the changes they perceived.

Attitudes towards OCS. A topic explored in the focused discussions was "what would you do" if oil or gas were found; it was a general inquiry meant to gain a sense of the attitudes toward the industry and towards a discovery if it occurred somewhere in the area. Only one person thought OCS development would be a bad thing to have happen. Others were quite supportive. One discerning individual observed that benefits depend on where oil or gas is found and that they would probably go to the state. The Tribal President was clearly in favor of OCS development: "It would be a good thing. They haven't had any bad accidents. It would be good for this community."

One older fisherman, whose sons are also involved in fishing, was especially supportive. "If they put the drilling rigs in, they are pretty stable. If they do find oil, then we will get more dividends. Let them go ahead and explore. These guys study so much of it, the process." He noted there had been no problem with the Cook Inlet rigs. When asked if oil company representatives had come to Chignik, he replied no, his information came from reading. In summary, Chignik Bay did not appear resistant to the possibility of oil and gas development. The residents appeared at the time far more concerned with the effects of local government incorporation and the changes that municipal status was perceived to have initiated.

To find out if villagers might be interested in work elsewhere, a topic of the focused discussions was, "Would you leave this village to go to a job somewhere else?" Here the answers indicated the older persons would not be particularly interested.

> No way would I leave here. I would starve if I didn't stay here.
>
> Loved ones are more important. I own my own house here. The job would have to pay more than $10 an hour to get me to leave this town.

But younger men seemed a little more interested; one added he would leave "If the job was permanent." Another was going to study electricity because he didn't want to get stuck being a janitor all his life. A permit holder noted that the people who might be looking for jobs are "the young who only get 5%," referring to the amount of a crew share. Perhaps even more interested in moving and finding jobs elsewhere were those men who no longer even get 5%; ones who are in a sense "over the hill" as far as fishing careers go, i.e., local men over 30 years old.

Conclusion

Chignik Bay is a small village with marked fluctuation in both summer and winter populations. It is the center of a great deal of activity when the fish processing plants operate; and in recent times with incorporation as a second-class city has brought increased year-round activity. The new city council has been exceptionally busy. Conflict and factionalism may be traditional, embedded in the community, part of the dynamics of living in the village, and these features will probably slow the rate of change. The older, established generation would find a slower pace more palatable; the younger and newer population would find it frustrating. Overall the stratification between families seemed marked here, economically and politically. This too may be an established pattern, part of the way things have always been here.

As an indication of conditions in the village in 1985, a research assistant counted a few items that reflected something about the community at that time. It gives a baseline for later comparisons when fortunes, permits and pets may change:

Winter residents: 91 persons in 24 households
82 Native; 9 non-Native

Hondas (three wheelers)	34	(1.5 per household)
Trucks	8	
Skiffs	14	
Smokehouses	5	
Banyas (steambath houses)	4	
Dogs	27	
Cats	10	
Birds	4	

The Shumagin/Chignik Villages: Summary

The descriptions of the villages on the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula document historic and social links of three Native villages to each other (Ivanof Bay, Perryville and Chignik Lake), and reflect their participation in the salmon fisheries at Chignik. The economic and social ties of the Bay and Lagoon to the town of Kodiak and to Seattle are more extensive, as documented by the corporations' shareholder addresses.

All the Pacific coast communities on the Peninsula have great annual seasonality, a significant part of their way of life. Chignik Bay doubles, Chignik Lagoon on the Flat Side triples, and a separate summer village forms on the Cannery Side of the Lagoon. The economic ramifications of the Chignik fisheries are extensive within the study area.

A development which is likely to have important consequences in the future of the area is the incorporation, in 1983, of Chignik Bay as a second class city and the steps being taken to establish this community as a regional center. However, in 1985, the communities remained quite autonomous; the strongest links shared were to the fisheries during the summer.

IV. THE KODIAK VILLAGES

These brief statements are intended to provide a setting for understanding the small, changing, villages of the Kodiak Island part of the project's study area.

The six villages can best be considered in sets of two: Karluk and Larsen Bay, Akhiok and Old Harbor, and Ouzinkie and Port Lions. Each community is unquestionably unique, historically and culturally, and each has its own "character", its own special identity. But the organization by pairs encourages seeing the links between communities and provides a geographic framework for thinking about them.

Today, the regional town of Kodiak provides strong economic connections with the villages, fostered by extensive and frequent air transportation. If we imagine a metaphoric island wheel, the central hub is Kodiak city, with spokes radiating outward to connect each village. The economic links are reinforced by borough organization, school administration, Kodiak Area Native Association programs, and the impressive array of goods and services available "in town". The outer rim of the spokes are linked, weakly, by a vague sense of a common historical past as "Koniag People;" the villagers are bound, more strongly, by the geographic fact of the surrounding ocean.

The villages are participants of far more than one economic and social wheel; the town of Kodiak is but a single cog in the complex machinery that shapes the health, well-being, and future growth or demise of the six villages. Anchorage agencies, the Juneau legislature, Washington D.C. bureacracy, industry boardrooms, and the international marketplace all influence life in the smallest and most isolated community. Oil prices, energy assistance, capital improvement projects, limited entry fishing permit ownership, agency regulations, tribal development--all combine to make life ever more complicated, and for some, more interesting.

The following descriptions document the diversity of the communities while also contributing to our understanding of some of the common themes of life in them.

Karluk

INTRODUCTION

Karluk is the smallest and most isolated village on Kodiak Island. Prior to 1978, it was physically divided in two: one part on the north side of the Lagoon, where Karluk Lodge is located, and another on the south side. In 1985, there were 91 residents living in three sections: first, Karluk Lodge with one household (4 persons); "Old Karluk" with two households (9 people); and "New Karluk," located 3/4th a mile away, with 20 occupied households (78 residents).

On January 7, 1978, a severe winter storm struck; it destroyed the store and took out the bridge that connected the two parts of the village then existing. During the following year, 23 HUD houses were built further up the lagoon, in two suburban-like rows (in February 1985, 3 of these were unoccupied.) Two related families chose to continue to live in the Old village, and a non-Native family leased the Lodge from a former village resident. Thus, Karluk is dispersed physically. Most residents live in a concentrated area less than ¼ of a mile long; others live nearly a mile away; while the Lodge is connected only by water (and CB radio). A new 2400 foot gravel airstrip located between Old and New Karluk provides a link to the larger world beyond; Karluk has no dock or harbor.

In the new village a narrow board walk with sturdy rails was built during the winter of 1983-84. A large, modern school complex was completed in 1983. The community hall was occupied in 1982. A new store was being built in the spring of 1985, the first to serve the village since the loss of the community store in the 1978 storm. Electrification of the community through a central generator was expected in 1985. Until then, Karluk was the only village on Kodiak Island that continued to meet its needs for electricity with individually owned and maintained power plants.

Field Visit

The analysis for this report is based primarily on nine discussions held with a total of 13 adults (5 men and 8 women) involving 9 of Karluk's 23 households. The total living in the households represented by these interviewees was 47, or 52% of the local population. Participants included the village president, the KANA board representative, VPSO, the health aide (who is also the village council treasurer), and one of the managers of the Karluk Lodge. One discussion took place in Kodiak on December 19, 1984 with a family that was temporarily living in town. The other eight discussions were held in Karluk during 2½ days, from late afternoon on February 6 through the morning of February 9, 1985.

At the time of the visit, a new community store was being constructed by local men using materials retrieved from the old village; the frame and roof were completed and windows were being installed. Bingo was played every night in the community hall. Considering how remote the village is, the visitor traffic was impressive. A legal services attorney was in town to assist with permit applications; a KANA employee was visiting; and a representative of the Senior citizen's program stopped by. At the Lodge, a real estate assessor came for a few hours, and a couple of regular clients arrived to go fishing.

Two village research assistants were hired to complete a household census. They determined the relationships of persons in each home, along with birthdates and birthplaces. In addition, they counted vehicles and pets. In February, 1985, there was 1 truck, 4 three-wheelers, 1 four-wheeler and four skiffs in Karluk. The pet population took in 16 dogs, 3 cats, 17 chickens, 4 geese, 1 rabbit, 1 bird and 2 fish. The Lodge across the lagoon had 12 skiffs, 3 three-wheelers, 5 dogs and 1 cat.

HISTORY

Recent archeological excavations during the summers of 1982-85 by teams led by Dr. Richard Jordan of Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania establish a great time depth of occupation in this location. The official reports are not yet public but initial findings indicate unusual features with regional significance.

Provided here is a beginning list of historical dates in chronological order reflecting only the most recent events.

1786	Russian Trading Post established.
1870	Salt salmon processed by the Alaska Fur Trading Co. and Alaska Commercial Company.
1878	Karluk Packing Company put up 33,470 cases of tinned fish (Moser 1899:51).
1882	Five canneries were operating in the immediate area.
1891	Karluk River Fisheries built and operated a hatchery.
1892	Post office established.
1895	Number of Red salmon caught: 1,762,000 (Moser 1899:144).
1896	Three canneries were operating. Number of Red salmon caught: 2,650,000. Alaska Packers Association built a hatchery on the southern bank of the Karluk River about two miles from the outlet. 2,500,000 red salmon hatched and released (Moser 1899:155).
1897	Red salmon caught: 1,867,000
1911	New cannery moved to Larsen Bay.
1960	Request to Indian Health Service for sanitation facilities.
1970	October 22. Fire destroyed community hall and three houses.
1972	Community Hall rebuilt.
1978	January 7 and 8. Great winter storm.
1979	Water and sewer system constructed at location of new community.
1980	Water and Sewer system transferred to the community. 23 houses built at the new site. December 6. Village Corporation merges with Koniag, Inc.
1981	2,400 foot gravel airstrip completed between Old and New village.
1982	New community hall built; Television installed; New school opened.

1983 Health Clinic opened.
Telephones in homes installed (October)
1984 Boardwalk built.
1985 Community store built.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Demography

In February 1985, the two village research assistants recorded a total of 91 persons living in 23 houses. Nine of these residents were non-Native, comprising 11% of the village. They included a teacher and his wife, a single female teacher, a teacher married to a Karluk woman, a Filipino woman married to a Karluk man, and the family of 4 at the Lodge. The 82 Native residents lived in 20 households. Ten (43%) of the 23 households were occupied by nuclear families, i.e. husband, wife and children. Four (20%) of the homes included three generations; for example, a woman, one of her daughters, and two grandchildren; or a man, a son, a daughter and 3 grandchildren.

For the total of 91 residents, 57% were male and 43% female. However, the ratio for the Native population is 60% male and 40% female; these proportions indicate the continuation of an imbalance earlier reported by Taylor (1966). In February 1985 there were eleven boys under five, but no girls in this age bracket, a circumstance that contributes to the skew. There were 38 children under 15; this comprises 46% of the village's Native residents. There is a disproportionate number of boys: 27 or 71% of the children under 15; 11 (29%) in this age range were girls. Only one individual fell into the age bracket of 45 to 55 years, but four men and five women were 55 or older. That is, 11% of the Karluk population was 55 years or older; with 6% over 70. As noted in the Larsen Bay narrative, 39 individuals who now live in this nearby community were born in Karluk. This migration has led to a decrease in the Karluk population, as well as changing the population mix in Larsen Bay.

Households. Of the 20 Native households, 11 are linked to one local family, the Malutins. One man and his wife had all their living children residing in Karluk. These included four sons, three daughters, one son-in-law and two daughters-in-law. In addition, the couple had 22 grandchildren in Karluk, four of them married with spouses living in the village. Further, the Malutins had 17 great-grandchildren residing there. In all, in 1985, there were a total of 55 persons related to the Malutins, 48 direct descendants and 7 in-laws. This accounted for 55% of the total village residents, or 60% of the Native population. A few of the Malutin grandchildren and great-grandchildren live elsewhere, including Larsen Bay (2), Ouzinkie (1) and Big Lake (2), but by far most of the immediate family have chosen to live in Karluk.

The next largest family was the Sugaks, who made up four households with a total of 11 people. A widow had three sons, one daughter and 6 grandchildren living in the village. Through her deceased husband's brother, she had links to Old Harbor, and through her mother, ties to Afognak.

The third major family was the Panamaroffs, who comprised two households, and nine persons. A man and woman had one son, a daughter-in-law and five grandsons living in Karluk. This family also had strong links to Larsen Bay where two sons, their wives, and ten grandchildren lived. However, through a sister of their Karluk daughter-in-law, the Panamaroffs also were linked by marriage to the Malutin family.

In a village where most people have a network of kin throughout the community, the separation of individuals and data into household units could be inappropriate. Rather, a framework for analysis based on kinship and family alliances seems more insightful. Karluk is a small, kinship-based community; most of those who choose to live there were born or raised there, and most are linked to a relatively large segment of the three major families.

Marriages. Of the 45 adults 20 years old and over, 57% (28) were married. Two of the marriages were of non-Natives; two were Karluk Natives married to non-Natives; and ten were Native marriages. Of these ten, 40% were endogamous; that is, Karluk men married Karluk women. Sixty percent were exogamous; three women born elsewhere (Larsen Bay, Kodiak and Afognak) married Karluk men, and three men born elsewhere (Kodiak, Afognak and Perryville) married Karluk women. The 14 married couples occupied 61% of the households. Other household combinations included a single person; two single brothers; 3 alliances (living with); 2 divorced women; 2 widows, with children and grandchildren; and a widower, with his son and his daughter's three children.

Birthplaces. The seven non-Native adults came from seven different places: Massachusetts, New York, Florida, Texas, Oregon, Mexico, and the Philippines. The Native adults came from five different Koniag communities, with the highest percentage having been born in Karluk. Of the 35 Native adults for which birthplaces are known, 74% were born in Karluk (13 men and 13 women). Two of the elders were born in Afognak (in 1907 and 1908); as was one of the young adults. Taylor (1966) documented a migration of some individuals from Afognak to Karluk. Other villages where today's Karluk residents were born include Larsen Bay (2), Kodiak (3) and Perryville (1).

The School

Originally the school was at the site of the Karluk Lodge. The old school building was remodeled and is now the home of the lodge's managers. During the four years after the 1978 storm, school was held in trailers at the new Karluk location. In the spring of 1983, a new school building was completed; it is a major complex on the hill behind the two rows of HUD houses. In February 1985, 28 students were attending this school, while six high school students were elsewhere (four in Kodiak, and one each in Larsen Bay and Anhorage). The three Karluk teachers, Emory Welch, Jerry Sheehan and Pam West, taught the following groups:

Kindergarten through 3rd grade:	11 students
Fourth through sixth grade:	8 students
Seventh through ten grade:	9 students

Adding the last two high school years, 11th and 12th grades, was anticipated for the school year 1986-87. The school committee members were:

President: Mary Reft
Secretary: Betty Lind
Members: Helen Malutin, Nikolai Sugak and Marie Sugak

The Church

The Russian Orthodox Church is located on the hill behind the old village. In 1985, Olga Panamaroff was the lay reader; she lived just below the church and continued to maintain it. She started her training when she was nine years old under the direction of Larry Ellanak, who is now the lay reader in Ouzinkie. Tania Malutin is considered a "second chief" by Olga and the two of them work together. The church committee included the following seven persons:

Olga Panamaroff, lay reader
Allen Panamaroff
Emil Malutin
Nick Charliaga
Mary Reft
Nick Sugak
Jessie Sheehan

There is a local tradition that a church committee cannot be made up of four or six persons; it must have five or seven members. One person suggested it was that way because the swells from the ocean come up only in threes, fives or sevens.

Traditional church activities are maintained. For instance, there is starring for three days at Christmas time; and in addition to Karluk, the lay reader went to Larsen Bay where she also led the starring. People recalled how the men from Akhiok used to walk to Karluk for a dance during "Masleenya," or Crazy week, the week before Lent. It is still expected that during Lent village residents should fast, eat no meat and drink no alcohol—and play no bingo. An interesting observation was made by a man who married into Karluk from Chignik Lake, which is also a traditional Russian Orthodox village. He noted that there were more, and older, songs in Karluk, and that starring lasted for a longer period as well. Indeed, the Russian Orthodox tradition is old, and strong in this location. It has deep roots in the past, as reported by priests who visited in the late 19th century (see Davis 1979:107-108).

Social Activities

Although the school, the church, and the community hall were centers of some social events, visiting constituted a major social activity. This was the case despite considerable competition from television which was relatively new to the village (it was installed in 1983). The community hall building had multiple uses. A small library was placed along one corner; preschool was held in one small room, which doubled as a guest room. The hall also housed the health clinic, the post office and the VPSO office. In its main room, village council meetings and dances were held; and during the time before Lent, bingo for 10 cents a card was played nearly every night. There was some difficulty maintaining the building; this may be the continuation of a pattern established earlier when the old community hall was located in the village on the spit. Material from this old building was being used in 1985 to construct the store next to the community hall.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Karluk is the only Kodiak Island village that is not incorporated as a second class city. A tribal council was organized in 1939 and the local Natives prefer at this point to maintain their IRA status; the tribal council is recognized by the state as the local government.

The 1985 tribal council members were:

President: Allen Panamaroff
Vice-President: Tim Sugak
Secretary: Larry Sugak
Treasurer: Mary Malutin Reft
Members: Christine Guttierez
Mitch Chya
Connie Chya

Membership on the council has fluctuated. Three individuals who were listed as members of the earlier 1981 council were not in the village in 1985. One had moved to Larsen Bay and two to Kodiak. Each of the major families in Karluk were represented on the council. The President served as spokesman to the world outside the village; he might be considered a modern equivalent of a "first chief." He had been on the Koniag board of directors. The Secretary was the local VPSO; he might be considered a modern equivalent to a "second chief," with special responsibilities for maintaining order within the village. Also, because he lived in the main village near the community hall, he seemed to be responsible for the hall's power plant, and for arranging accommodations for visitors. The council president's position was a regular paying part-time job ($600 a month). The council also paid members if the individual had no local job but had to make house payments.

Especially relevant to understanding the dynamics of this small village is a consideration of the roles and responsibilities of the eldest Malutin daughter. She is the one person who serves on all three major organizations: the school committee, the church committee, and the village council. In addition, she is the village health aide, representative for booking clients for the Karluk Lodge, manager of the new store, and, as she added spontaneously while she was splitting wood, "I'm a mother to all these kids." She has six children of her own, and as a Malutin, she is aunt and great-aunt to many more. This concentration of economic and political influence in the eldest daughter of the largest family may be the modern version of a traditional pattern. It suggests that the pattern of matrilineality noted in earlier research (Davis 1971) and cited elsewhere in this report.

Government Relations

In the words of one villager,

> The government made us feel poor.

This statement appears to reflect both the local and the external perceptions of the circumstances. Karluk people seem to feel "poor," and therefore in need of many government services. Those responsible for providing the services then tend to unwittingly reinforce the sense of poverty. Somehow Karluk has become known not for its magnificent location, historic depth, and strong family ties, but, rather, for conflict, factions, and drinking. As described in the economic section, there are many cash paying jobs in Karluk. Even so, Karluk is somehow perceived by outsiders as "the pits;" it has a poor reputation elsewhere.

This kind of perspective is difficult to change, regardless of the number and kind of efforts introduced by external agents, and regardless of local awareness and concern. Once the view is established, events tend to be interpreted in such a way as to reinforce the negative attitudes. Two examples are provided here. Consider first an externally introduced effort, based on modern, urban, sophisticated dietary and health research, to change eating habits. The effort comes to the village in the form of education and activities for the children. What is intended are eating habits that will support healthy kids. How the effort is interpreted locally may be quite different. Villagers see a program that tells them who they are and what they do is not good enough. The traditional foods and ways of living (which indeed may include considerable consumption of sugar, in tea and coffee, for example) are portrayed as wrong and unhealthy. Residents may hear there is a need to reprogram the children's eating patterns and that this somehow will produce a more wholesome village.

Some believe efforts like this contribute to the overall weakening of parental influence and responsibility if the children are told even indirectly their parents are wrong. On the other hand, these programs do provide some local employment. Regardless of what it is that seems to be expected, checks will come. Also, many programs provide a chance to get out of the village. Camps, training sessions, and other meetings are highly valued by modern villagers, as they are by participants in the urban business world where conferences add variety to the work routine.

Another illustration concerns drinking. From its reputation, one would expect to find most Karluk residents drinking most of the time, but that is not the case. Some residents do not drink, while others drink in moderation, periodically. Karluk's reputation may have come about in part from the unfortunate timing of outsiders' visits--especially if the visitors then reported the worst. Such portrayals can be devastating to the villager's sense of dignity. At the same time, when drinking does occur in a village it tends to be more visible, and talked about, than would be the case on a quiet suburban street. The peculiar visibility and shared common knowledge that derive from living in a small village can lead both to the acquisition and perpetuation of a negative reputation.

One final comment on village-outside relationships. Karluk's negative reputation may have deep historic roots. The priest, Shalakov, certainly reported dreadful conditions in the village in the late 19th century; he attributed these, probably rightly, to the canneries. The intrusion of hundreds of workers no doubt contributed to the disruption experienced by the villagers at that time. It seems reasonable that this early period, with its crises, was the initial major conflict for the Native people in the area. Perhaps they have never been able to reverse the early characterizations.

There is no evidence to suggest that life in the old days was free of factions and political problems, but perhaps the ability to manage these conflicts was inhibited by the years of cannery influences early in the century. Karluk residents may have learned to feel poor or left out then, and these feelings may be difficult to unlearn, but instead persevere in later generations and with more recent experiences.

ANCSA and Land Issues

If a worst case scenario for ANCSA is ever written, the village of Karluk should be among the illustrations. Not many small villages in Alaska have experienced more debilitating consequences from the act. The village lands and assets were merged with those of the regional corporation, Koniag, Inc., in 1981. The shareholders were convinced they had no other options. Years of litigation followed. During the summer of 1985, KANA employed Russell Barsh, an attorney and international Native rights specialist, to work with Karluk and Larsen Bay on their exceptionally complex land problems. His report recommended, among other things, that corporate land be returned to the two villages (Barsh 1985).

In 1984, in response to sportsmen's interest in the Karluk River, Koniag Inc. decided to charge a $50 a day permit for fishing in the river. On account of its location, the village has suffered the consequences. It was not a village decision, but the village received the blame.

The only hint of some ANCSA benefits was mention that 5 or 10 acre lots might be made available to shareholders who originally enrolled to the village. As of the time of preparing this report no action had been taken on the matter.

Turning to Native allotments, a total of 17 individuals filed for 30 parcels (2,379.18 acres). But in 1985, only seven of these applicants lived in Karluk. The parcels filed for by the seven still in the village totalled 1079 acres. Here, as elsewhere, the 1906 Native allotment act may provide the only land the local residents will acquire. As of this writing, action on the applications was still pending.

The determination of the navigability of the Karluk River has a separate, extensive legal history. The scope of the issue is beyond the bounds of this report. Briefly, in December 1977, the BLM determined the river nonnavigable. In 1978, the BLM gave interim conveyence of the riverbed to Karluk and Larsen Bay; this resulted in the entire length of the river being placed in the private ownership of the village corporations. In 1980, as noted, the villages merged with Koniag, Inc., the regional corporation. Then in September, the status of the river was changed to navigable. On March 6, 1984, Koniag, Inc. and the Karluk IRA land committee protested the decision. In effect, the riverbed had passed from public to private ownership and then back to federal jurisdiction.

Enrollment. The original enrollment under ANCSA to the Karluk village corporation was 186 (1860 shares). The total number of shares remains the same over time, but the total number of shareholders changes as individuals die and additional shareholders are added through inheritance or gifts. On January 3, 1985, according to Koniag Inc. records, the number of former Karluk village corporation enrollees was 179. The following analysis is based on the addresses reported for these Koniag shareholders as of that date. Of the 179, two were deceased, 1 received mail through an Anchorage bank, and for 6, no addresses were available. That leaves a total of 170 shareholders for which we have locations. About 68% of these lived on Kodiak Island, distributed as follows:

Karluk	66	38.8%
Larsen Bay	21	12.4%
Kodiak	26	15.3%
Ouzinkie	1	.6%
Port Lions	1	.6%
Total	115	67.6%

However, since the addresses had last been updated, many of those listed with Karluk addresses had left the community. At least 14 of the 66 names on the Koniag list did not appear on our census list of February 7, 1985. If this many have left permanently, then only 52 or 30.6% of the original enrollees actually lived in Karluk in 1985.

As noted earlier, there are 38 children under 15 years of age in the village; this represents 46% of the residents actually living in the village. This fact combined with the fact that fewer than one third of the enrollees were living there highlights the weak position of the village vis-a-vis larger Koniag issues. Even if all those enrolled to the village actually lived there, they would still represent only 6% of the total Koniag shareholders; as it is, the actual residents represent only 2% of the total. Karluk enrollees also lived in five other Alaskan communities, with 10.6% in Anchorage. One each got their mail in Kenai, Palmer, Atka and Selawik. In summary, a total of 137 Karluk shareholders live in four different Alaskan Regions: Koniag (115), Cook Inlet (20), Aleut (1) and NANA (1). The remainder, 18.8%, live outside the state, in ten different places: Washington (14), Oregon (3), California (2), Florida (3), Georgia (3), Hawaii (1), Idaho (1), Nevada (1), Wisconsin (1), and West Virginia (3). None of the shareholders were non-Native in 1985. The shares which had been inherited had been received by other Natives.

A comparison of 1979 with the 1985 figures demonstrates the migration of enrollees out of Karluk to Larsen Bay, a fact confirmed in the Larsen Bay census analysis. There was also a decrease of residents in Kodiak city (they may have moved to Larsen Bay when the HUD houses became available) and an increase in those living Outside. The following data is based on the 1979 and 1985 enrollee address lists.

	1979		1985	
Address	No.	%	No.	%
Karluk	87	48%	66	39%
Larsen Bay	4	2%	21	12%
Kodiak	40	22%	26	15%
Other Kodiak	1	.5%	2	1%
Other Alaska	24	13%	22	12%
Outside	25	14%	32	19%

Here is a brief summary of the range of replies to the focused discussion topic, "How has the land claims changed life here?"

Three people said there was no change, two said they had "no idea," and one said "not much." Some individuals expressed discontent:

> Mass confusion, but it made a few jobs.
>
> It caused arguments. It was dumped on us. Too premature.
>
> We had no chance to demerge (from Koniag). They told us we were too late.
>
> Ouzinkie is better.
>
> There is talk about ten acres to each shareholder, but it cost $2000 to survey.
>
> I'm on the land committee and I am scared. I'm not sure if we are qualified. We need some legal advice.

> I'd like to demerge and get the land back to the IRA council.
>
> It came too fast. We should have been given at least 60 years. It should not have been a corporation; we didn't have to merge.

During the discussion of the kinds of changes that were seen going on, one person made the spontaneous assertion, "Land claims and all the outsiders!" To summarize this political description, with reference to local power and influence, the continuity of one major family is seen. The tribal council is the governing unit, although the political style of earlier years, which called for greater informality, may be the preferred mode of operation. With reference to ANCSA matters, the original enrollees to the former village corporation of Karluk are distributed widely, with about 30% continuing to live in the community itself. It may be that Karluk has become, in the last few years, increasingly traditional in the social interaction of its residents, and that its political arrangements reflect the special adaptation of a small, isolated village in the mid-1980s.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Subsistence Activities

The field visit was in early February; subsistence activites at this time of the year centered mainly on hunting. Thousands of ducks swarmed about the lagoon. Shotgun shells cost about 50 cents each, and one hunter reported he could get 3 or 4 ducks for a cost of about $5.00. Deer had been sighted in the vicinity and the hills around the village were checked visually by binoculors throughout the time of this research. On a hunting trip a week earlier, four men brought back sea lion flippers, a delicacy. Several residents offered the general observation that hunting patterns are changing. One man stated that there is now more hunting on land for deer and duck, and less ocean hunting because of the cost of maintaining equipment.

Mostly Karluk residents identified subsistence foods as their preference; they listed for example fish, and duck, or ptarmigan "the way grandmother fixes it." A combination of local and store sources was reflected in one answer: "Pancakes and salt fish." This combination of purchased and locally obtained foods was reflected in what people were actually eating. Although the villagers usually identified subsistence items as their favorites, in fact many other kinds of foods were part of their menus.

Information on 12 main evening meals in 8 different households was obtained for the dinner the night before and the day the discussion was held (February 7 and 8, 1985). Recognizing the data is limited, at least it gives an indication of what some residents of Karluk were eating at the time and it provides something to compare with a later time, season, or time of month when the proportion of subsistence to store-bought food might be different. The households included 43 persons, or 52% of the Native population.

Main item	No. of Meals	No. of people
Duck	2	9
Piroche (fish pie)	2	12
Polish sausage	2	13
Chicken	2	9
Macaroni & ham	1	7
TV dinners	1	4
Roast, beef	1	4
Stew, beef	1	5

In summary, one-third of the meals included a subsistence item as the main dish. (This proportion is increased if the non-Native teacher couple is added; they had fish pie on February 8.) It must be noted, however, that the data was gathered early in a winter month, shortly after checks had arrived. This is a time when some fresh goods may have been bought either at Larsen Bay or Kodiak. It is highly probable that the ratio of subsistence to purchased foods varies by time of month, and by time of year. Many factors can influence the use of subsistence resources, especially the amount of cash coming into a household, which in turn can depend on the number of local jobs available, and how many household members hold these positions.

Commercial Fishing

In 1899, Grinnell traveled in the Kodiak area with the Harriman Alaska Expedition. In 1901, he published his analysis of what was happening to the salmon industry based on his observations at that time (1901:337-355). The following excerpts reflect events in both that period and now, indicating that 85 years later perhaps not much has changed.

> And what is going on in the Kadiak district is going on in other districts. Competition is so very sharp ... each manager (of canneries) is eagerly desirous to put up more fish than his neighbor. All these people recognize very well that they are destroying the fishing; and that before very long a time must come when there will be no more salmon to be canned at a profit. But this very knowledge makes them more and more eager to capture the fish and to capture all the fish. This bitter competition sometimes leads to actual fighting -- on the water as well as in the courts....(Grinnell 1901:345).
>
> It must be remembered that long before the white man had come to Alaska, the fisheries on most of the streams resorted to by the salmon already had owners. For hundreds of years the Indians and the Aleuts had held these fisheries, not in a general way in which an Indian tribe claimed to possess a certain territory, but with an actual ownership which was acknowledged by all

> and was never encroached on... For centuries certain families or certain clans had held proprietary rights in particular streams, and they alone could take fish from them... These ancient rights have now been taken from the natives by force, but they are still anxious to get what they can from the fishing.
>
> The question of the protection of these fisheries is not one of sentiment to in any degree. It is a question as to whether the material resources of Alaska are worth protecting" (Grinnell 1901:354-355).

Grinnell foresaw what would happen; commercial fishing at Karluk exploited the resource nearly to extinction. It is a classic, historic example of how the fishing industry operated in Territorial days. Cobb (1930) reported, when the new cannery was moved to Larsen Bay, that there had been no processing in Karluk since 1911. The facility was moved because, in addition to over-harvest, "frequent storms had caused havoc to vessels anchored in the open straits opposite the mouth of the Lagoon."

Since Statehood, other factors, in addition to storms and the shifting of cannery locations, have affected commercial fishing participation by Karluk residents. As one former fisherman commented:

> Fishing was going down anyway - down the tube. The permit system guaranteed it.

Under Alaska's commercial fisheries limited entry arrangements, only one purse seine permit was held by a Karluk resident in 1985. The individual had no boat and had not fished for some time. At the age of 70, he was considering getting back into fishing. But, as his son observed, the effort may not be worth it.

> If you are a purse seine operator, you are fighting with everyone else for a small amount of fish. You get in such a hassle that people start ramming boats.

At least three former local Karluk men have sold their purse seine permits: one sold to an Outsider for between $15,000 and $20,000; another sold to a Kodiak-Chignik Native man for $30,000-$45,000, and a third sold his for around $45,000. All three men left Karluk. Two beach seine permits are held by local residents; one made a single set in 1984. He and two other men fished for 1 day, one set, and harvested 500 silver salmon. Each man grossed about $1200. There are no gill net sites in the vicinity.

Three men, all in their thirties, went commercial fishing the summer of 1984, as crew on other people's boats. One goes to Chignik Lagoon every summer. In 1984 he crewed on a cousin's boat (his father's brother's son). The man's own son, aged 9 years, fished with an uncle from the Chignik area who now lives in Hawaii. The boy earned $4,000, and his father is concerned the youngster is already hooked on the fishing industry. A former Karluk man now living in Kodiak said he crewed for his grandfather's brother, earning a 10% crew share, about $5000, for a 7 day period.

In addition to competition for scarce fish, there is also increasing competition for the few crew positions available on Larsen Bay boats. As one local Karluk man observed,

> The old-timers from Outside teach other guys how to fish; and then when these young [white] guys get a boat, they use their own crew from Outside.

Under these conditions, with only 4 skiffs and no seine boats owned by villagers, it is not likely that Karluk men will reenter the commercial fishing industry in the near future.

Jobs

The number of local jobs available in Karluk is impressive. In February, 1985 the list included:

School	Hours
Teachers (3)	Full time
Teacher aides (2)	
Secretary	2 hours/day
Adult Basic Ed.	12 hours/week
School dayman	
School custodian	5 hours
School custodian	3 hours
Recreation director	
Pre-school teacher	
Substitute teachers (2)	($86 a day)
KANA	
Nutrition program leader	8 hours/week
Community Health Rep.	$7/hr x 4 hrs/day
Family Activity Leader	
Health Aide	
Health aide alternate	
Senior Citizen cook	
Tribal Council	
Tribal Manager	($6.50/hr; $500/mo.)
Village book keeper	
Community Hall janitor	
Clinic janitor	
Oil Delivery	($350/mo.)
Water and Sewer maintenance	($300/mo.)

Other:
- Road grader operator ($4000/yr)
- Postmaster
- Village Public Safety Officer

Private:
- Lodge Managers (2)
- Bear guides (2)

Exact hourly and monthly wages were not available in every instance, but clearly there are important differences between the salary of the head teacher and the clinic janitor. Only one Native position (VPSO) was full time; most jobs were for just a few hours a week. Thus it is not possible to specify exactly how the pay is distributed among the residents.

However, what can be determined from the data is the general allocation of jobs throughout the households in the village. The 34 different jobs were distributed to persons living in 18 of the 23 households.

Number of Households	Number of Jobs Held	Number of Residents
5	None	18
10	1	34
4	2	20
1	3	7
2	4	7
1	5	5

Five of the 34 jobs were held by non-Native residents; the other 29 were held by Native residents. The above analysis does not include the three fishing crewman positions which, if added, would make a total of 37 specific positions (approximately 1.6 jobs per household). If dollar amounts for each of these positions were available, then a more accurate assessment of the economic situation could be presented.

There was one opening in February, for nutrition leader. Several up-coming jobs were anticipated during 1985. Construction work was expected with installation of the community power plant and electrification. Once the system was established, a generator maintainance man would be needed. A store manager and stock boy were anticipated for the new store due to open in March. Possibly there would be a neighborhood youth corp program during the year. Several students work on a nearby archeological excavation in the summer. As a note, one reason few men fished during the summer of 1984 may be because they had expected jobs with the electrification project which did not materialize. These jobs would pay, reportedly, $18 an hour.

State-funded capital improvement projects over the last few years have included:

FY 1981	School construction	$960,000
1982	Erosion Control	50,000
	Health Clinic	150,000
1984	Fuel delivery	85,000
	Boardwalk	50,000
1985	Electrification system	233,000
	Equipment storage shed	100,000
	Street lighting	27,000

As long as projects like these include local hire, then the housing and other costly aspects of living in Karluk may be affordable; the risks and hassles of fishing surely must look discouraging in comparison.

Village Costs

The following gives an indication of some of the expenses in the realms of fuel, transportation, and groceries.

Fuel

$1.65 a gallon for oil; $90 a barrel
$1.71 a gallon for gasoline

The cost to transport fuel oil was 47 cents per gallon, and it had to be brought in by charter. Examples of fuel consumption included one household that used two drums a month for a generator; four drums/month when it was cold. Another family of four used 2 barrels for heat, plus propane for cooking. A third family left their generator on all night, an admitted luxury, and found they used 5 to 6 drums a month.

Transportation

Seat Fare one way to Kodiak:	$68
Charter one way to Kodiak:	$250 to $350
Charter to Larsen Bay:	$95 to $125

Freight: 24 cents a pound on Island Air
30 cents a pound on SeaAir
$5 for a box of groceries from Larsen Bay on Uyak Air

Groceries

As already noted, Karluk has not had its own store since 1978; a new community store was expected to open the end of March 1985. Private funds and local labor were involved. In the meantime, all groceries had been purchased from either the village or cannery stores in Larsen Bay and flown by charter to Karluk, or purchased in Kodiak and either carried as freight on the regular services or sent by charter. Costs between the regular air service and a charter are sometimes seen as a toss-up. By the time two seat fares for $68 plus freight for 300 lbs of groceries are added for the regular plane, the convenience of a charter is sometimes justified. Also people may pool their checks and grocery requests, and then send one person to Larsen Bay or Kodiak to buy the goods.

Another way to manage is to order COD from Kodiak, if one's credit is good. One family with a regular income orders from Krafts every two weeks and charges the costs. This family of four reported they spent 40% of their cash on food, 10% on house payments and 15% on fuel. House payments for the HUD houses are $98 a month. Another family with a good income spent about $600 a month on groceries during the winter and $1200 a month during the summer; the latter months they lived at Chignik Lagoon. In one summer they reported spending $7000.

It turned out in this village to be awkward to discuss what people do with extra money, such as permanent fund dividend checks. A sample based on inquiries at two households indicated that one family spent their $2100 Koniag distribution in 1981 for a winter supply of case goods from Krafts in Kodiak, and their $1000 state dividend on a holiday in Kodiak city. Other uses were for 3 wheelers bought with the Koniag distribution, and for groceries and Christmas presents.

Outdoor Recreation

The Koniag regional corporation, along with other private parties, has expressed interest in the recreational potential of the area. During the field visit for this study a number of local residents were asked what they thought about outdoor recreational development. Under the land issues discussion reference was made to the problem of charging fishermen for access to the Karluk River. The answers to the inquiry about recreational uses gave a general indication of local suspicion about sportsmen, but a tentative interest in tourism.

> We should have our own guides.
>
> I wish we could get into it--where we all can benefit equally.
>
> Tourism would be nice. But we got a bad name; they said we were killing fish.
>
> The sports fishermen are organizing. They're getting (to be) too big a problem.

In sum, the feelings seemed to be wariness about tourism along with apprehension about sports uses. (Also, some antagonism was expressed toward the state fish and game department). One older woman summed it up succinctly:

> Tourists, ok. Outdoor sportsmen not so okay.

Karluk is one of two villages in the study area that has a local facility specifically catering to outdoor sportsmen. The Lodge was built by a local family that has since left the village. In 1978 it was leased to a non-Native couple. A short visit to the Lodge provided the following information.

The operators explained that it is primarily a fishing lodge, not a hunting camp. Their brochure identifies four seasons: King salmon and red salmon fishing from June 1 to July 4; reds, pinks, dollies and halibut from July 8 through August 3; silver salmon from August 4-October 5, and steelhead fishing from October 6 through 31. Prices vary depending on the season. They run from $250/day in October, $795 for 5 days (a season special), $1395 per week for kings and reds, to $1650 a week during the silver season. The fees include food, lodging, boats and guides, but not airfare from Kodiak. The lodge can accomodate about 15 people at a time. Most of the clients come from localities like California and Chicago, but they also have guests from Europe, including Switzerland. Several people mentioned that Jack Lemmon had once visited. Thus far the maximum number of guests during a summer has been about 150.

The couple manages the lodge but also hires two girls from Kodiak, usually over 21, to help with the guests, the dishes, and in taking care of their two small children. The assistants, who must have their own business licenses, are on contract and are paid weekly. These helpers earn $250 a week plus tips, which can be between $100 to $150 a week. The lodge also hires guides to help maintain the equipment and teach the clients some basic fishing skills, including handling the skiffs. The couple shop by calling Krafts in Kodiak city, and get their meat supplies from City Market. They charter a plane for $750 an hour during the summer.

On May 2, 1984 Koniag Inc. informed the lodge operators that permits would be required to fish in the river; the permits have to be paid for at the Koniag offices in Kodiak. The lodge then increased their fee by $50 to cover this cost. (One of the bush air services in Kodiak city indicated that much 1984 traffic for fishing on the Karluk River was diverted to the Red River area further southwest in order to avoid the Koniag permit fee.) In 1985 there was some discussion in the village that one of the sons of the original Karluk lodge owners was considering building a competing lodge nearby, but no direct information was acquired on this possibility.

OCS AND VILLAGE VALUES

With respect to their thoughts about OCS development in the area, the residents indicated some ambivalence, some interest, and some opposition. In general, the men favored development; two men indicated interest in the potential for work, and another admitted, "It would be nice if they hit something." But two women clearly declared that OCS development would be a bad thing to have happen.

The village president stated he thought it depended on what the companies would use as their staging base and how many people were involved. The vice president answered, "It might be alright if people were prepared for it." There was no specific reference to potential environmental damage to fisheries. But, as noted earlier, the Karluk people are marginally involved in fisheries at this point in time, and if there is an increased shift from ocean to land hunting, then OCS activities would not be seen as quite the threat they could have posed earlier in the village's history. Although commentary was not hostile toward potential oil and gas development, neither was there any interest in leaving the village for a job elsewhere. One man, a bear guide in his mid-thirties, stated

> Maybe in 15 or 20 years from now - about that time I might be interested.

The range of the discussion of "What do you like best about living here in Karluk?" tells us something about village values. The replies emphasized family ties and the quality of village life. Hardly surprising was the reply of one woman who said, "Because my grandmother lives here who raised me." Her grandmother is head of the Malutin family, so she, as the eldest granddaughter, is related to 60% of the village. Surely family is a key to what people like about Karluk. It may also be a factor in some leaving and moving to Larsen Bay.

In addition to answers referring to family and to being born in Karluk, were comments about the easy life, good hunting (no mention of good fishing), peaceful, no hassle, lots of Native food, "skiffing," more time with the kids, and "no artifical environment - its real." At the same time there were references in the discussions that reflected a concern on the part of some Karluk residents about what seems to be a growing tradition of problems. "When we first came here, they got along real good with each other," but now things have "gotten worse." Another individual noted, "We're not sharing like we used to, nor have the respect for the elders, and there is drinking and drugs coming in."

These comments carried a sense of conflict between response to the modern world and the continuity of Native traditions. One individual observed, "Competition is not our style," yet contemporary commercial fishing requires the fisherman to compete and to "ram" others in order to be successful. It seems that the tension between these modern pressures and the more preferred Native style of conflict avoidance must be intense in Karluk. One man referred to the drinking, including his own, and concluded, "We drink to cope with rejection." A comment like this suggests that drinking is one modern village's way of avoiding value conflict, even though it generates other kinds of problems. By choice, by location, by family, the residents of Karluk prefer their isolated village--conflict and all.

Larsen Bay

INTRODUCTION

Larsen Bay is unusual in a number of respects. First, it is the only Kodiak Island village with a cannery complex in town. Second, like Chignik Bay and Lagoon but unlike the other Island villages, it experiences a great influx of temporary residents during the summer when the cannery is open (which it was not during the summer of 1985). Third, Larsen Bay is unique because much happened there in the concentrated time span between 1983 and 1985. Of all the communities in the study area, it was in the greatest throes of change. Most of the town is newly built--the school, many houses, a new store, roads, a preschool building, the water and sewer system, an electrical distribution system, a new addition to the community hall, and communications facilities for television and telephones.

All of these new facilities stand in contrast to the old cannery, which dominates the spit of land just inside Larsen Bay, and west of Uyak Bay. The village is spread out over a mile. One section, with older homes and the main community buildings, is located to the east of the spit and cannery; a second part, with the new HUD housing, landfill, and road lies to the west of the spit.

Perhaps as a reflection of a strong Scandinavian influence in the past, Larsen Bay has a great number, and diversity, of animals: 52 cats, 59 dogs, 71 pet fish, 5 birds, 92 chickens, 7 goats, 1 pony, 5 ducks and 4 geese. The community also has 5 banyas, 3 airplanes, 18 working trucks, (8 non-working ones), 2 cars, and 27 Hondas. There are 4.5 miles of local roads. On the occasion of the field visit, February 3-6, 1985, a total of 178 people were occupying 46 homes; 56 residents (31%) had lived in the village for two years, or less.

At the time, Larsen Bay was experiencing some social and political conflict. It was almost as if too much had happened in too short a time, and the Winter of 1984-85 was needed by the residents to assess, rethink and reorganize. They were faced with not only adjusting to the many new facilities, but also accommodating to the return of former residents and to an influx of new people from Karluk, from Kodiak city, and from beyond the Island.

References

Two recent documents describe the area, the village, the facilities and the population. One is the village profile prepared by Dowl Engineers (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1981) and the other, a Comprehensive Development Plan by Norgaard Consultants (Kodiak Island Borough 1984). The latter also identifies goals, objectives, and priorities for capital improvements, and discusses these components. The final report on the sanitation facilities construction for the village by Indian Health Service provides a history, description and costs of the water and sewer system (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1980). For additional references see Davis (1979: 104), and Chaffin, Krieger and Rostad (1983:159-161).

Field Trip

Larsen Bay was visited by N. Davis for three days, February 3-6, 1985. At first it appeared that the community was so deeply involved in contention that no research should be attempted. There was a petition out to stop a city-sponsored land sale, and some individuals in the community were trying to "blue ticket" a non-Native couple out of the village. However, after appropriate checks, the approval to proceed was assured. A research assistant who had been previously trained by the Subsistence Division of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game was hired to make a house to house census. Included in the information was the composition of each household, age of residents, where they were born, and how long they had lived in Larsen Bay. In addition, the number of pets and vehicles was obtained. Thanks to the competence of the research assistant, and to the support of a helper, we have for Larsen Bay a base of information not otherwise possible.

While the two assistants worked on the census, N. Davis held discussions with 15 different individuals, attended an advisory school board meeting, and learned to play bingo. The discussions involved the tribal president (also the postmaster), the current tribal manager, the former tribal manager, the present mayor, two former mayors, the VPSO, 2 store managers, a health aide, cannery watchman, three grandmothers, three salmon permit holders, and a former Koniag president. (There was some overlap in the above positions.)

HISTORY

Little is known about the history of the area; the following brief listing of dates is provided to help place the contemporary village in the context of past events.

1805	Reference by Lisiansky to Uyak.
1880	76 residents at "Ooiak."
1881	Arctic Packing Company, Larsen Cove, Uyak. Packed 37,500 cases.
1882	Packed 44,200 cases.
1884	Sent fish to be packed at Karluk, which had 5 operating canneries at that time.
1897	Pacific Steam Whaling Co., Uyak Anchorage. Hume Brothers & Hume established.
1901	Two canneries merged into Pacific Packing and Navigation Co.
1905	Pacific Packing purchased by Northwestern Fisheries Co. One cannery burned.
1911	Alaska Packers Association moves equipment from Karluk to Larsen Bay.
1939	38 residents.
1950	53 residents.
1960	72 residents.
1961	First request for a water project.

1970	109 residents.
1974	Incorporated as a second class city. Kodiak Island Seafoods, Inc. purchased cannery from Alaska Packers Assoc.
1977	First road built.
1978	15 HUD houses constructed.
1979	Water and sewer system completed. April 7, new Post Office building opened.
1980	Population: 168. New school building: 7th - 12th grades. Merger of village corporation with Koniag, Inc.
1981	New clinic and post office expanded.
1982	Kodiak Island Seafoods, Inc. (KISI) closed.
1983	KISI purchased by Universal-Larsen Bay Seafoods. April 1, Larsen Bay Community Store opened. Telephones and Television installed. 15 HUD houses constructed.
1984	Sanitary land fill excavated. 1.5 miles of road built. Fuel distribution system installed. Community power system connected. Preschool/seniors' building constructed. Larsen Bay Comprehensive Plan prepared.
1985	January. New city office building opened. Funding for small boat harbor study obtained.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The following analysis of the demographic characteristics of the village provides a beginning understanding of the dynamics of the community and of kinship relationships and connections, especially to Karluk. Characteristics of the school, and some vital statistics, further describe the community. Finally a note on social activities closes this part.

Larsen Bay may be to the Kodiak region what Chignik Lagoon is to the Shumagin/Chignik region: a cannery town that has recently become a winter village for more and more people. Like the Lagoon, Larsen Bay increases in population during the summer when the cannery is operating and, also like the Lagoon, as more local facilities become available, more people tend to stay over the winter and become year-around residents.

However, unlike the Lagoon, the fisheries and the operation of the cannery are less stable at Larsen Bay, making the population fluctuate not only by season, but also by year. A valuable future study would be a comparison of Chignik Lagoon, Chignik Bay and Larsen Bay--all three cannery-based communities with wide seasonal variation in population and activity, and all three with mixed ethnicity based in large part on a strong Scandinavian influence.

Demography

In February, 1985, 178 residents lived in 46 households. Over a 25 year period the village had grown from 72 (1960) to 109 (1970) to 168 (1980) and to 178 (1985). Some of this has been natural growth through births (17 children in 2 year's time), and part of it has been the migration of people from Kodiak and Karluk. In all, 56 persons were new residents; 31% of the people had come to the village within a 2 year period (1983-1985). Of the total residents, 59% (105) were new in the last 10 years, including the children ten and under. Of the 1985 residents, 39 had been born in Karluk; only 15 had been born in Larsen Bay. Twenty eight were born in Anchorage, and they were all under 20 years of age, reflecting the time when mothers began to go to the Alaska Native Hospital in Anchorage to give birth.

Of the 178 residents 20% (36) were non-Native (58% male and 42% female), and 80% (142) were Natives (48% male and 52% female). This was the only village with a higher proportion of Native females over males. When the non-Native population is added the proportion becomes exactly 50% males to 50% females, 7lso an unusual phenomena in small communities.

Of the total population, 41% (73) were under 15 years old; 53% (94) were under 20 years of age. Deleting the non-Natives from these age groups changes the percentages only slightly--42% (60 young people under 15) to 54% (76 under 20 years). In Larsen Bay, as in other villages, there were many single men over the age of 19; 51% (24) of the adult male population of 47 individuals were single: 22 Native men, 2 non-Native men. The 22 comprised 59% of the adult Native men.

In February, 1985, there were 9 adult unmarried females (1 widow). Of the total (40 adult females), 72% (29) were Native. Of these Native women, 28% (8) were not married. However, there were informal alliances of five single men with five single women (15% of the households). Thus, although the overall figures indicated an even distribution of males and females, in fact, among the adults it was uneven, especially among the Native residents: 37 men to 29 women, with 22 men and 8 women single.

A reminder should be provided that the above analysis cites the population and households at one particular time in the changing history of Larsen Bay. With the introduction of new housing and other facilities, the community is attracting more residents, many of them from Karluk, where kinship ties continue to be strong.

Household composition. Of the 46 houses occupied in February, 1985, 70% (32) were Native homes, 17% (8) were homes of mixed marriages, and 13% (6) were the homes of non-Natives, including the teachers. The average number of persons per household was 3.87.

The number of people listed by household size is as follows:

Household Size	Number of Households	Number of residents
1	5	5
2	8	16
3	8	24
4	11	44
5	4	20
6	3	18
7	5	35
8	2	16
Totals	46	178

Eighteen of these households (39%) were comprised of a nuclear family (i.e., two generations: parents and a child or children). Six--13% of the total and 19% of the Native households--included three generations (for example, a man and wife, a son or daughter, and their children). In three more households (7%) the middle generation was absent; grandparents were raising their children's children.

Three households had collateral relatives, such as a wife's brother or a sister's son. Other arrangements included a man who was raising his grand-nephew, and another man who was raising his sister's son. Instances of single men raising children were also found in three more households; in all three, the man was raising his own children, and in one case his grandchildren as well.

In sum, in a total of 5 households (13% overall; 16% of the Native households) men without wives are raising children. The implications of this finding should be considered in the future; whether or not this is an unusual, possibly even temporary, phenomena or a growing one in small villages is important to determine. In some cases former wives are deceased; in other cases there has been a divorce; in yet others the woman is simply absent.

Birthplaces. Very few of the current residents in Larsen Bay were born there: only 8% (15) over a 55 year period. Further, six of those born in the village were eight years old or younger; 1 is 17 years old. Of the rest, 4 were born between 20 and 29 years ago, 3 between 30 and 35, and 1 over 55 years ago. In other words, only 8 adults were born in Larsen Bay (12% of the adult population). In contrast, 22% (39) of the total number of residents were born in Karluk; 35 or 53% of the Native adults. In all, almost 60% (27 of 46) of the households had at least one person born in Karluk. If the non-Native households (6) are excluded, the proportion rises to 68%.

The three "old time" Larsen Bay family names were Waselie, McCormick and Aga. One of the Agas moved to Larsen Bay 57 and the other 59 years ago. Mary Ann McCormick moved from Karluk 47 years ago, in the late 1930s. A family that moved during the intermediate time is the Carlsons, who came about 1950. A more recent example of the migration from Karluk is Charles Christensen, the 1985 mayor. He first left Karluk during the winters to work in a cannery at

Kodiak. When it was destroyed in the 1964 tsunami, he returned to Karluk where he operated the store and post office. In 1967 he moved to Larsen Bay to be the cannery's winter watchman. Christensen's wife, Clyda, is also from Karluk. Her mother was from Uganik and her father from Sweden. Her children, grand-children, and great-grand-children recently returned to Larsen Bay; in addition, Clyda has two brothers and a sister living in Larsen Bay.

Another family, Alex Panamaroff's, moved from Karluk to Larsen Bay in 1979 when he was appointed postmaster. He still holds this position. His brother had moved to Karluk about eight years before Alex and his family. From 1979-1985 at least ten households moved to Larsen Bay, 6 of them in the two year period from 1983 to 1985. Not only were families from Karluk, but also from Kodiak city and elsewhere. Of the six, four include mixed marriages. In less than a year before the time of this research, a total of 3 households with 16 people had moved to Larsen Bay.

In summary, the recent increase in population in Larsen Bay reflects the consolidation of some families, and the inclusion of additional non-Native residents. It is an indication of increasing heterogeneity over a relatively short time. In these respects, Larsen Bay continues an established historic tradition of incorporating a highly mixed population. Yet not all aspects of village life were changing. Three individuals have lived in Larsen Bay 50 years or more: Charlie Aga, John and Dora Aga. Nor is the migration all one way out of Karluk to Larsen Bay: three McCormick sisters from the latter village have married Karluk men and live in Karluk with their families.

The School

In February 1985 the school had 63 students and 6 teachers. In addition to the non-Native teachers, 5 local people held jobs at the school. Dewey Taylor was the principal teacher; this was his third year in the village. He had been in Alaska for eight years; one year at Sand Point and 4 years at Old Harbor before coming to Larsen Bay. Under Lyle Anderson's leadership, the high school program was started in 1983; by 1985, 17 students were enrolled. In a GED program the year before, 9 adults had earned high school degrees.

The advisory school board members were:

Kathy Oberg, President
Pam Terrell
Dora Aga, Treasurer
Jessie Panamaroff
Frieda Panamaroff

Of these five, Dora Aga (as just noted) had lived in the community for 50 years; two were women who had come to the village relatively recently, while the other two were married to brothers who moved from Karluk.

During the field visit on February 5, 1985 the monthly school board meeting was held. The meeting illustrates the range of activities taking place and the degree of local involvement in school affairs. The school board was active and involved, the meeting well attended. In addition to 4 of the 5 board members, children, the student body president, the teachers, and at least 5 adults from the community were present. On the agenda were a treasurer's report and a series of topics under new business.

As part of his report, Mr. Taylor explained the procedure for a request for a 2.6 teacher increase for the coming year. There was discussion whether the board wanted to attend a board training session, or a symposium. A fisheries program in the town of Kodiak was described; it would last for 2 weeks and 12 students from the villages could attend. An up-coming swimming training session for third grade children, also to be held in Kodiak city, was reviewed. Among the topics were chaperones, costs, and what might be scheduled for the children to see in town. In 1984, 20 children had gone on the swim trip. The budget for 1985 was $3,700; the school hoped to use Indian Education funds.

Mr. Taylor indicated the Kodiak Island Borough School Board had been considering visits to the villages, and Larsen Bay might be one of the first locations chosen. He reminded everyone the coming weekend was going to be one of the busiest for the school because the volleyball tournament was scheduled to be held in Larsen Bay. From 30 to 40 competitors from other villages were expected. Potlucks for two weekends in a row needed to be planned. One of the board members wanted to request that someone come out to review the curriculum. Some of the parents expressed concern with the curriculum. (Later, one of the adults from the community indicated she thought the children had too much homework. The question she posed was how were they to learn traditional skills if they had to work in books all the time?) Extra-curricular activity ideas were considered, including a computer club, a debate club and peewee basketball. All these topics came up in this one board meeting, which was recessed briefly for a special competition called "Battle of the Books." This is a small glimpse through a single school board meeting at a most complex institution in village Alaska--the school.

Health

The modern health clinic is part of a community building that also houses the post office, city and tribal offices, and a meeting hall. The health aide indicated there were a total of 14 boys and 16 girls born in Larsen Bay since 1979. In February 1985 there were 4 pregnant women in the village. While I was visiting in one household, an older woman received a telephone call. It was an attempt to set up an appointment for a flu shot. She refused, saying, emphatically, "I am old enough to die anyway."

Indian Health Service statistics for 1980 show that Larsen Bay in- and out-patient days were considerably below the counts for other villages. In 1980, the Native population of Larsen Bay was 120, which was 13% of the total Kodiak Island village population. However, the community accounted for only 6% of the in-patient days and 6% of the out-patient days recorded by the Anchorage area health center. Vital Statistics maintained by the State of Alaska recorded a total of 51 births between 1970 and the end of 1984. That is 12% of the total Kodiak Island village births for the 15 year period. For the 46 births recorded between 1970 and 1983, the age of the mother at the time of birth disclosed that 37% (17) were age 20 or under; 57% (26) were between 21 and 30; and 7% (3) were between 31 and 40 years of age. During that same period (1970-83), there were 24 deaths recorded, 17% of the Kodiak village total. Two of them were suicides, one in 1970 and one in 1982.

Churches

In 1985, Larsen Bay had three church buildings but no regular services. Ruth Layton held services in the Larsen Bay Bible Chapel from 1948 to 1979 (Chaffin, Krieger and Rostad 1983:160). Joyce and Norman Smith came first to Larsen Bay in the early 1950's before settling at Ouzinkie. The Orthodox church was under construction. Olga Panamaroff, the lay reader at Karluk, provided some services, especially at Christmas.

Social Activities

Larsen Bay was characterized by many activities: visiting, television, school events, athletic tournaments, city council meetings, tribal council meetings, and meetings when various agencies came to town. Exercise classes are held at the school five times a week. The village also had bingo. In February 1985, the community hall was being renovated so the twice-a-week bingo games took place in a home. They were well attended. At least twenty people were playing on February 4, 1985 in Marlene Aga's house. Pop and popcorn was for sale. Cards rented for 10 cents a game, with pull-tabs costing 50 cents or a dollar each. Some people were able to keep up with as many as 18 cards in one game. The proceeds went to the tribal council. The residents said that, when the community hall is completed, a regular schedule of events will begin again. The women's knitting group will resume meeting every Saturday, dances will be held every other Friday, family activities twice a week, and pool every day.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

When the work was undertaken for this project, Larsen Bay seemed to stand out on political issues. Perhaps it was the timing of the field visit, or the aftermath of recent events, that gave this prominence. Here is a cautious analysis of the local political elements of councils, leadership, and land issues.

The City and Tribal Councils

First of all, it should be noted that both the tribal and city councils have experienced recent changes in membership. Five of the tribal council members are fairly new to the body; only two who were members in 1981 were still serving in 1985. Seven of the city council members were recently chosen; three from 1981 continued to serve in 1985. Some of these were more recent changes; the elections in fall of 1984 led to two changes on the tribal council and three on the city council. This amount of fluctuation seems unusual in village politics and may be an indication of larger changes in the community.

The following were members of the 1985 tribal council:

Alex Panamaroff, Sr.	President
August Aga	Treasurer
Frank Carlson	
Charles Christensen	
Dora Aga	
Lylla Mitchell	
Kathy Noya	

(Carlson and Christensen serve on both councils.)

Only August Aga was born in Larsen Bay; all the rest came from elsewhere, including 3 born in Karluk, 2 in Washington state, and 1 in Ouzinkie. The average age of the tribal council was 44 years, and the average length of time in Larsen Bay, 22 years.

The 1984 city council included 5 members born in Karluk and 2 from Washington state. The average length of residence in Larsen Bay was 18 years, and the average age of the members, 43 years. The changes in 1985 added two non-Native members, and a new migrant from Karluk. These relatively recent arrivals lowered the average time in Larsen Bay to 12 years. However, the average age was increased to 45 years. In February 1985, the City Council was composed of:

Charles Christensen, Mayor
Jimmy Johnson, Treasurer
Frank Carlson
Jack Wick
Tom Atkinson
Tony Reft
David Oberg

Both Johnson and Carlson were formerly mayors. Johnson served as village council president in 1970-72, and was mayor in 1980-82. An interesting variety of backgrounds characterized the members. For example, Carlson was born in Karluk, but had resided for most of twenty years Outside. He returned to Alaska in the summers for various jobs, such as building roads (Ouzinkie, 1978) and water and sewer systems for the Public Health Service (1979). In 1981 he retired from Kenworth Trucks and moved back to live year-around in Larsen Bay. After returning, Carlson served as mayor from 1982-84. He and his wife, Jean, were instrumental in coordinating the many projects which modernized the village over a 3-year period. Along with others, they encouraged the reactivation of tribal council activities. In April 1983, during Carlson's term as mayor, a 3% sales tax was introduced. Collection of the raw fish tax was also initiated; the first check arrived in 1984. These taxes brought in $1,500 to $2,000 a month during the winter and, during 2 months in the summer, between $10,000 and $15,000.

Here is a list of some of the purchases and construction projects that have contributed to the modernization of the physical aspects of the community.

Year	Project	Cost	Funding source
1982	D-8 Cat	$ 95,000	RDA
1982	Preschool	43,000	
1983	Dump truck	53,000	IFC loan
1983	Bulk Fuel	80,000	RDA
1983	Fire Truck	85,000	RDA
1983-84	Water & Sewer	370,000	State
1983-84	BIA road	600,000	BIA
1984	Land fill	80,000	State
1984	City Hall add.	100,000	RDA
1984	Power house and generator	148,000	State
1984	15 houses	1,000,000	HUD
1984	Boat Harbor	450,000	State

The city was running a delivery truck for oil sales, and had ordered a winter supply of fuels--50,000 gallons of diesel and 20,000 gallons of gasoline and propane. A drainage problem had developed at the new landfill site, so it was not in use yet. Constructed in 1984, the site was connected to the village by a new 1.5 miles of BIA-built road. A $37,000 fence had been built around the landfill to keep out the bears.

At the same time all of these city activities were going on, Jean Carlson and Frank Peterson (now living in Old Harbor), working out of the tribal office, applied for grants and tribal funds. These efforts brought about $600,000 for various projects, including a $30,000 emergency jobs grant, a greenhouse, donated goats, a $25,000 tractor, and several agricultural programs such as planting gardens and trees.

When the field work for this study was done in early February 1985 one impression gained was that perhaps all the changes were "too much." A sense was conveyed that more changes had been concentrated in too short a time than the small village could assimilate. Conflicts over jobs, over nepotism, and over funds certainly had occurred. Painful accusations had been made. Even under the best conditions, when communities are highly amenable to change, there is a threshold of tolerance for the rate of change. It seemed that by early 1985 Larsen Bay had reached that threshold, and was struggling to resolve accumulated social conflicts.

Events initiated outside the village may have added to the tensions. For example, the community had been chosen as the setting for the Kodiak village hearings for the Alaska Native Review Commission held by Thomas Berger in the fall of 1984. Local, internal discord--especially over land and tribal issues--may have been in some ways heightened by these meetings. Added to this, the village corporation had not "demerged" from the Koniag regional corporation, and a former president of Koniag was on the council. The Community Health Representative and the city clerk had recently resigned. Finally, a number of former, or summer, residents had returned to stay now for the full year. Little wonder the village was caught in controversies over jobs, non-Natives, tribal, and land issues.

Land issues

Over the years, land had rarely been for sale in Larsen Bay. One lot had been sold to the Kodiak store owner for $8000. Then 14 lots were sold by the city in March 1985; prices ranged from $760 to $2,100. Arguments favoring the sale emphasized the need for land by residents who wanted to build their own homes, and by businesses wanting to get started. Arguments against the sale included not making land available to "outsiders," especially that "tribal land" should never be for sale. Basic divisions over how land should be handled were likely accentuated by the recent arrival of a vocal, educated young woman, related to many in the village, who articulated the arguments. And, as already suggested, the issues may have been intensified by the Berger hearings, and growing island-wide uncertainty as to what was happening to Koniag, Inc. as a corporation and to its land holdings.

Native Allotments. Under the Native allotment program, 11 individuals had applied for 36 parcels for a total of 1,670 acres. These represented 4% of the total number of Kodiak applications, and 5% of the total acres. The low proportion of applications compared to other villages may in part be explained by the fact that in 1970 Larsen Bay had fewer people (109); it may also be an indication that the residents were not politically active on land issues at that time.

ANCSA

Shareholder addresses. The distribution of enrollee addresses reflects something of the diversity of Larsen Bay. The following is based on 183 listed addresses, out of a total of 200 shareholders. Of the original enrollees, four were deceased, 11 had no identified address, and 1 had a bank address.

Of the 183 addresses, 34% (62) were presumed living in Larsen Bay. (Although the address list is dated January 3, 1985, and our village census was taken on February 5, 1985, there were discrepancies: some individuals with addresses in the town of Kodiak were living in Larsen Bay, for example.) Twenty percent (36) had City of Kodiak addresses, another 3% (5) were living in Karluk, and one each in Old Harbor and Ouzinkie. In all, 57% (105) of the addresses were on Kodiak Island. None were in the Chignik area.

Elsewhere in Alaska, 21% (38) enrollees lived in 8 different communities in five other Native Regions. They included 6.5% (12) in Sitka and 5% (9) at Mt. Edgecumbe; 5.5% (10) in Anchorage and 2% (3) in Kenai, plus 1 person in Eagle River. Finally, one Larsen Bay shareholder had an address in Kotzebue, another in Nome and yet another in Nondalton. In all, 143, or 78% of the shareholders lived in Alaska. Beyond the state, 22% (40) had addresses in 8 different states: Washington 9% (17), California 6% (11), and Oregon 1% (2); with Kansas 2% (4), and Pennsylvania 1.5% (3). One shareholder each had addresses in Nevada, Arizona, and Georgia.

With the exception of 20 individuals, shareholders had 10 shares. Twelve of those who hold more than 10 were over 50 years old, while 8 were 30 years old or younger. Ten of those with extra shares lived in Larsen Bay; 5 in Kodiak. One elderly woman had a total of 30 shares, the most held by any one person;

she was born in 1912. There were also new shareholders, persons with less than 10 shares, who presumably inherited these from the four deceased shareholders. Of these 12 individuals, 8 live in Larsen Bay.

This beginning analysis suggests that at least for Larsen Bay, although the original distribution of Koniag stock was far flung, the distribution of shares since the original enrollment seems to be increasingly concentrated in the village. Proportionately 60% of those with more than 10 shares and 67% of new shareholders had Larsen Bay addresses. (This kind of analysis was not done on the other village enrollments so comparisons are not possible here.)

The Village Corporation. The village corporation, Nu-Nachk Pit, Inc., had 72,144 acres conveyed by August, 1978. In 1974, it and 3 other village corporations bought the Alaska Packers Association cannery in Larsen Bay. Unfortunately the cannery was in poor repair and other difficulties developed. It was sold in 1983 to Universal-Larsen Bay Seafoods. In 1980 the village corporation, along with four other villages, merged with the regional corporation, Koniag, Inc. In 1983 Akhiok and Old Harbor de-merged, but Karluk and Larsen Bay did not. One of the suggestions being discussed in 1985 by local residents was a recommendation to retrieve some of the surface conveyances as tribal land.

Structuring a focused discussion around the topic, "How has the land claims changed life here?" was difficult in Larsen Bay. However, where responses were obtained, they mirrored attitudes similar to those of other villages: some indifference, confusion with the allotment program, and often disallusionment. The following statements illustrate the responses.

For example, one person commented:

> I don't really know. I don't think it's bothered here too much. When we bought the cannery, we didn't know anything about it. It was all run down.

Noted another:

> Everyone should have gotten their money in one big sum and then what they do with it is their business. About that land allotment, we are supposed to get 10 acres. There's been some question about it lately.

One of the city council members stated:

> It's ruined it...the tribal council, the "Native movement." Most people here are fourth-breed. (Now) people get too much welfare. AFDC, $1,000 plus food stamps.

One of the tribal council members asserted:

> We were just doing fine the way it was. (Now) it's all messed up. There never was any problem before this land sale. It's crazy to sell land.

In these comments, the mixing of land issues, money, allotments, the "Native movement," and welfare reflects something of the real confusion at the village level concerning what the land claims is all about. And in this particular community, perhaps the comments suggest that ANCSA has become a convenient scapegoat for many local ills.

Racism has been a growing concern, an attitude that also has gotten mixed in with "land claims." Reflected one non-Native resident:

> It never used to be that way. They used to look up to white people. I don't understand it.

It seems to be a reasonable conjecture that the range of political changes and related difficulties may be a reflection of a community changing so rapidly in facilities, services and people, that the social system has not yet "caught up." The structure has not yet been able to integrate the pieces; the new relationships simply have not been put together.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Closely related to political developments are the capital improvement projects of the recent years, the jobs that have been generated, and the local businesses. A list and discussion of the many projects has already been provided in the Political Organization section above. We turn now to an analysis of the consequences of these undertakings. A few notes on subsistence activities and food preferences are included, followed by a review of commercial fishing and outdoor recreation. The latter two are especially important for this study.

The projects cited earlier were more coordinated here than in any other village in the study area. In a six month period, for example, the road was built to the landfill site, the community power plant installed, and the village hooked up to it. A bulk fuel tank, with a capability of holding 50,000 barrels, had been placed underground by the BIA about 1980, but it was never filled. In 1984 it was dug up, fenced, with the intent to be put to use.

The Comprehensive Plan of 1984 identified the following priorities for future projects:

1. Small boat harbor construction
2. Community Center
3. Micro-Hydro Project
4. Erosion Control Study
5. Airfield Extension Engineering
6. Park Development
7. Trail Development

In addition to estimating costs and timing and discussing these proposals, the Plan reflects the process involved in village-borough development.

Jobs

The City payroll for 1984 was $124,179. The following provides an indication how the funds were distributed:

Maintenance	$8,670
Oil Sales	1,924
Water & sewer	2,230
Administration	30,268
Recreation & Parks	2,606
Maintaining dump	899
Roads	2,970
RDA	17,817
Powerhouse (fence)	5,605
Water & Sewer grant	6,970
Library hire	1,040
Job Training	13,285
Bulk fuel fence	7,127
Utilities	12,152
Equipment repair	2,666
Fire Hall improvements	3,783

(It was unclear when the city manager provided these figures if they were funds that were distributed all as salaries, or if some materials were also included.)

Among the city employees in 1985 were a full-time mayor and a city clerk. The carpenters were paid $12 an hour; the utility man also earned $12/hour. The rate for basic labor was $10 an hour. The city paid $10/hour for janitorial services in their portion of the building; the tribal office paid $5/hour for maintaining their part of it. Other figures for salaries included $10 an hour for a beach boss at the cannery; $8 for cannery labor. The watchman earned $1500 a month. The VPSO position paid $1742 a month. A foreman for the Kodiak Island Borough landfill project was paid $18 an hour, and the BIA road work paid $33/hour. The power plant job paid $12 an hour for 25 hours/week, or about $300 weekly.

Other positions included custodial work at the school, and teacher aide positions. The health aide and alternate, the community health representative, tribal manager and secretary, and postmaster all worked in one building. The two stores each employed a manager. The community store hired part time help at $5.50 and $6 an hour. In all, there were at least 28 jobs in Larsen Bay in 1985. The capital improvement projects, of course, added more when they were underway. In the summer of 1984 some of the contention in the village stemmed from the great demand for local labor, and the competition for the higher paying jobs.

Costs

The following itemizes some of the costs faced by Larsen Bay residents in early 1985; they provide a base for comparisons and for later study.

Fuel oil	$1.20/gal., delivered
Gasoline	$1.15/gal.
Propane	$50.00 per 100 lbs.
Water & Sewer	$15.00/mo. plus $7.50 for additional persons
Electricity	.22 kw (.23 kw subsidy)

House payments were $98.00 each month, less $15 if paid early.

Some sample family expenses, which were kindly shared during the field visit, were as follows:

For a family of 4--$2000 a month

For 2 people who receive 25% discount at the store, and who also partake in local food resources--$500/month.

For a family of 6--

Telephone:	$90 to $110
Electricity:	$70
Heat:	2 drums a month

In addition to pay for the jobs listed earlier, unemployment compensation, food stamps, and other transfer payments provide cash to meet these local costs.

In the focused discussions about what people liked to do when they got some extra money, one person said she was looking to buy a teacup poodle for about $300. Another said she put her daughter's extra money in the bank, and bought a kicker (outboard motor) for herself. "Booze" was yet another answer, not unique to villages nor to Larsen Bay.

Local Businesses

Local businesses included an air charter service and two grocery/general merchandise stores. A newly developed enterprise catching and processing sea otters was beginning in 1985. Larsen Bay is the only village in the study area with its own charter airplane service based in the community. Uyak Air Service began in 1980 and now has 2 airplanes. In addition to regular charter service to and from Kodiak city, Uyak made a Saturday grocery run from the city to Port Lions and Larsen Bay; it also chartered to Karluk, a village which did not yet have a store in early 1985. The cost was 10 cents a pound, considerably less than the SeaAir rate of 29 cents/pound.

Larsen Bay Mercantile is the cannery store owned by Larsen Bay Seafoods, Inc., a branch of Universal Seafoods Corporation. Its stockholders include fishermen who had the opportunity to buy in with the new owners when the cannery changed hands in 1983. Most of these stockholders were reported to be in Washington state and the town of Kodiak. The store is located in the cannery complex; in 1985 the manager was Spence Shaw. The store policy is cash only. The following are some of the 1985 prices.

Pop	$ .45 a can; $9.60/case
Candy	.30
Ice cream	3.80 half gallon
Bacon	2.50 lb.
Eggs	1.39 doz.
Bread	1.59 loaf
Milk, can	.75
Coffee, 3#	8.45
Potatoes	.50 lb.
Apples, oranges	.90 lb.
Pampers	$13.75 - 14.35
3 wheeler:	$1,237
4 wheeler:	1,425
Outboard motors:	
9.9	945
Suzuki #40	2,650
Suzuki #15	1,750

The staples are ordered from West Coast Groceries, and delivered by the "Western Pioneer."

The other store was The Larsen Bay Community Store, or "Jessie's Store." It was managed by Alex and Jessie Panamaroff for Allen Beardsley, who is also the owner of the Kodiak Mark-it Store and its new branches at Ouzinkie and Port Lions. Opened April 1, 1983, the Larsen Bay store is conveniently located midway between the two major housing sections of the village. Although the costs tended to be higher than at the cannery store, Jessie's carried some items not otherwise available. For example, Jessie ordered fresh meat every Thursday, and Dave Oberg of Uyak Air picked it up in Kodiak on the Saturday grocery run.

The following were examples of some of the prices at the Community Store on February 5, 1985:

Pop	$ .50 can; $12/case
Candy	.35
Eggs	1.29
Bread from Kodiak	1.29
Bread from Anchorage	1.80

Coffee, 3 lb.	9.99
Flour, 10 lb.	3.79
Sugar, 5 lb.	2.71
Wheaties, 18 oz.	2.59
Luvs, 12 large	5.27
Bacon, WV brand 1 lb.	2.49
Bacon, Armour, 1 lb.	3.79
Ground beef, reg. 1 lb.	2.19
Pork chops, 1 lb.	3.59
Chicken 1 lb.	1.54
Potatoes, 5 lb.	1.99
Onions,1 lb.	.59
Lettuce, 1 lb.	.99
Bananas, 1 lb.	.89

Jessie indicated that February 5th, which had a $700 gross, was a moderate day; for comparison, a slow day would gross about $400.

Subsistence Activities and Food Preferences

The discussion about favorite foods led to spontaneous references to steak, Chinese food, and fish. One person mentioned deer meat and another, duck. Dora Aga, who is famous for her meals, served the researcher clams, and clam chowder, steelhead trout, duck and fish, and fish patties at four different meals, on February 5, 6, and 7, 1985. Needless to say, the meals at her "hotel-home" were greatly enjoyed.

Data was gathered for six other meals in 3 additional households in the community. There were 2 fish (1 halibut and 1 salt fish), 2 corned beef, and 2 steak dinners. Altogether, about one-third of the meals included local resources. Three households gave information about where they purchased their food. Meat came from Kodiak (Krafts and City Market) and the local store (Jessie's). One family estimated they got 30% of their supplies at Larsen Bay; they stock up with case lots (about $1000 worth) in the fall, and sometimes shop at Carrs and Safeway in Anchorage.

The distribution of some subsistence foods was noted. For example, Alberta Aga received halibut from her brother who got it from some crab fishermen at the dock; this brother also brings her deer. One of Alberta's grandsons brought her duck and clams. This same high school boy brought Dora Aga 9 ducks. One of his friends provided Dora with a huge fresh steelhead trout--and sent another to his Mother and her family in Karluk.

Commercial Fishing

According to the Comprehensive Plan (Kodiak Island Borough 1983:14), residents of Larsen Bay held 13 purse seine permits. However, in February 1985, this research effort could identify only six local residents with purse seine permits: 5 men and 1 woman (the only woman identified in the study area as holding a purse seine permit). For the six, the average age was 46 years old. The discrepancy between the number of total resident permits identified in other documents (see, for example, Langdon's analysis in Cultural Dynamics 1986) and the figures derived from the field visit in 1985 may be partly explained by the fact that some fishermen did not live in the village in the winter, but did return in the summer. For example, several fishermen living in the city of Kodiak were identified as Larsen Bay residents, only temporarily out of the village.

This suggests that those in the community perceived villagers residing in the town of Kodiak quite differently from fishermen whose boats were in Larsen Bay and permits registered to the village, but who lived Outside. The local point of view was that the latter were not really Larsen Bay residents. In summary, there are the local fishermen who live year-round in the village; there are local fishermen who live elsewhere in Alaska and return to the village in the summer; and there are those who live Outside during the winter. These perceived distinctions among categories of fishermen may also be found in the Chignik area.

Here, as in Karluk, fishermen have been selling their permits. It was reported that 2 of the 6 permit-holders anticipated having to sell because their old boats did not allow them to compete successfully with the larger, modern boats. In 1976, one local purse seine permit was sold for $45,000; part of the money was used to remodel a house. About 1980 another permit was said to have been sold to a business man in Kodiak for $125,000. (The sale may have included a boat.) Two of the purse seine fishermen also harvested crab. Four different residents, including two local women, owned beach seine permits. There were also four gill net permit owners, and a fifth resident was trying to buy one from his wife's uncle. The complexities, the delays, and the length of time to make the purchase--as narrated by the young man--indicate that buying a permit is difficult, prolonged, and discouraging.

It is interesting to note that set netting used to be reserved mostly for older people; it was an activity with little status in comparison to purse-seining. Now, however, the value of set netting is increasing as it becomes more and more difficult for village people to pursue purse seining. Even so, there is competition for these resources. Reportedly about 40 teachers own set net permits in the vicinity of Larsen Bay. There was a definite feeling among the villagers that "Natives are being squeezed out of fishing." The costs of boats, loans, insurance, and occasionally personal complications such as divorce proceedings make it difficult for local fisherman to continue in the profession. They find it almost impossible to remain economically viable. Under the many constraints and expenses of continuing to fish, the local, regular jobs appear more attractive. In talking with permit owners in Larsen Bay, as in four other Kodiak villages, it seemed that in their view the heyday of salmon and crab fishing is over.

Crews

As found in some of the Chignik villages, fishermen here were tending more and more to hire outside crew, pay a lower crew share, and thereby possibly gross more fish and money. Among those who crewed, one man reported he earned $8,000 in 1984 as a 13% crew share. Another man paid his eldest son 21% and his other three crew members 14%; he said "the boat paid for the groceries." At least two of the local boat owners no longer hire local men, one of them saying he hires all his crew from Outside: "I've given up on trying to hire local people. The last time I hired locally was 1970." The era of fishing as a local, kinship-based industry seems over in this region; for most of the remaining fishermen hiring relatives poses too high a risk for those trying to make ends meet and to make a profit.

Boats

Again like the Chigniks, owning a fishing vessel was growing more burdensome. As one fisherman observed, you have to be a lawyer to own a boat. This man used to lease his boat from the cannery, but bought one in 1980. After running a boat for 28 seasons, he no longer fishes with his purse seiner. He gave his permit to his son and now he goes gill net fishing with his wife; in this way he can also hold down a regular job locally.

At least 17 boats were stored at Larsen Bay, including the following: Eider, Sashan, The Flamingo, AP I, Kingfisher, Box 18, Terry Rae, Albatross, Arctic Tern, Hunker, Patty Ann, Bluejay, Pintail, Little Yank, Rejoice, Elfin Century, and Shirley Ann. Of the boats berthed locally, five were owned by local residents; the status of a sixth was unknown, possibly it had been taken over by a bank. The rest were owned by "stateside fishermen." At least seven "stateside" boats were stored at the cannery; four more were anchored across the bay in a sheltered area called "Hollywood." Boat owners who were stockholders in the cannery stored their boats without charge.

One man who leased his boat figured it took $30,000 to $35,000 gross to net $5,000. Insurance for a recent summer season was $2,800; for crab season in the winter, it was $1,200 a month. This fisherman reported that instead of seining, he could make $10,000 to $15,000 working his gill net site with his wife. Here, as in Ouzinkie, former purse seine fishermen were moving out of the fishery into this more modest, but lucrative area--certainly one without as many hassles.

The Cannery

Cobb (1930:58) summarizes the history of fish canning in the area up to that time. The present site of the processing plant was the location of an Arctic Packing Co. cannery that was built in 1888. It operated for three years, closing in 1890. In 1893 the facility was acquired by the Alaska Packing Association (APA), and was dismantled in 1896. APA lost several ships at Karluk, where the fish for the canneries were caught but where there was no good harbor, so in 1911 they closed their plant at Karluk and moved it to Larsen Bay.

Other early plants were located about five miles away, on the western shore of Uyak Bay. In 1897, both the Pacific Steam Whaling Co. and Hume Brothers & Hume built canneries there, which became part of the Pacific Packing and Navigation Company in 1901. Next, in 1905, the plants were purchased by Northwestern Fisheries Co. That same year one of the plants burned and was not rebuilt, but the other continued to operate periodically.

The old local cannery was initially built with equipment moved from Karluk in 1911. Its recent history has been a troubled one, with considerable uncertainty season to season as to whether it would operate. In 1975, three village corporations and Koniag, Inc. invested in the cannery, buying it from Alaska Packers Association, and renaming it KISI (Kodiak Island Seafoods, Inc.). Prices on fish went down, the cannery equipment was in poor shape, and the enterprise was not economically successful. In 1983 the plant was sold once more and is now owned by Universal-Larsen Bay Seafoods. As noted earlier, the stockholders include some individuals who seasonally fish in the area and store their boats at the cannery.

The 1984 season was considered a good year. The facility processed 108,000 cases of canned fish and a million pounds of frozen fish. About 160 workers were hired, though not many local people chose to work at the plant, partly because many projects which paid good wages were going on in the village that summer. Given a lean year in other jobs, the cannery probably would see more local interest in available jobs. However, overall, it appears that the permits, the boats, and the cannery jobs are held increasingly by non-local people.

Outdoor Recreation and Sportsmen

Given the circumstances of decreasing participation in the salmon fishing industry, it should not be surprising to find interest in diversifying the local economy. There are already four or five local guides, and discussions have been held about building a restaurant-hotel complex. Serious consideration of tourism has occurred, and the fear of the influx of people discussed. At the time of the field visit for this report one of the leaders said he thought that the village should share the magnificent country and that the visitors could be controlled. Another leader pointed to the impressive fees charged by Island Air ($125 - $150 per day to take people to a sport fishing location), and noted reports of good gross earnings of this service and of the nearby Karluk Lodge. Tourism and related activities appeared attractive, promising, and viable to these local observers.

However, these proponents and their ideas were not without opposition. A different group was countering their arguments. The contention over tourism was also linked to some of the other controversies existing during the winter of 1984-85. One faction perceived the other as trying to make a "predominantly non-Native community into a Native community." Indeed, the tribal and associated issues that seemed to be the center of conflict may have been directly related to the changing population. On the one hand, one segment was becoming increasingly "Native" with the in-migration of Karluk villagers; while at the same time, non-Native migrants were also increasing. In this respect, it is noteworthy that some of the most vocal proponents for tribal lands and rights were among the least "Native" and most recent arrivals to the village.

OCS AND THE FUTURE

Given the changing conditions in Larsen Bay, what attitudes were expressed by the residents about OCS activities? As might be anticipated, discussions about oil and gas development covered a range of positions. But only two of 8 comments were negative, and even one of those was qualified: "It probably would be bad." The other unfavorable response predicted that "outsiders would get the jobs." Six replies, including those of three leaders, were supportive of a future with oil and gas development in the vicinity. The predominant theme of these responses was jobs; here are some illustrations.

> It's ok if they don't do any damage; it would be work for the people.
>
> If controlled, it would be a good thing.
>
> I wish they would keep on drilling and find some. People need jobs.

Finally, someone on the OCS advisory board stated:

> It's going to happen whether we like it or not. The majority wouldn't mind it and it would bring in more revenue.

Summary

A theme of this report has been the description of some rapid changes at Larsen Bay. The changes have included the construction of new facilities in a short period of time and an increase in the permanent, year-around population. An apparent consequence of these changes was an increase in the intensity of the conflicts generated in the process. For a time Larsen Bay seemed to be disjointed, struggling to resolve differences and to incorporate the modern things and the diverse new residents.

Confirmation that, at the time of the field research, the residents were not happy with what was happening was reflected in their responses during the discussions of the kinds of changes that were seen as going on in the village. An increase of racism was a concern mentioned openly. One elder blamed food stamps and the BIA for the negative changes perceived:

> It has ruined these people. Young people can get as much as $500 and $600 from one source and $300 in food stamps, up to a thousand dollars a month.

Another person noted,

> People used to get along a lot better. Now they only get together if there's a fire or something like that.

This long time resident, who was one of the few born in Larsen Bay, went on to say:

> Before.. there were only five or six families around here. It was really friendly. Even a few years ago it was friendly... It used to be you would come here to relax from town. Now you go to town to get away from here and relax."

Some answers reflected nostalgia for a prior time when the villagers used to all gather down at the cannery dock when the mail came in--then a special and rare event, unlike the present with the nearly daily arrival of planes.

Slightly over one-third of the respondents gave basically positive comments in answer to the query. They cited things like television, including the two hours of soaps--General Hospital and All My Children. The roads and new people were perceived as good additions by two individuals. As suggested in this description, even under conditions most receptive to change, there are thresholds of tolerance for the inevitable disruptions accompanying change. So it seemed that in February 1985 Larsen Bay had reached its threshold as the community struggled to resolve the accumulated social conflicts.

But in spite of the fact that the winter of 1984-85 was proving to be a rough one for the residents, they still preferred village life. In the discussions around "What do you like about living here in Larsen Bay?" their answers were similar to others who have chosen a rural life in Alaska. Most important was family, followed by the slow pace, going out in the skiff, and freedom. The village is peaceful, not like the city; besides, "This is where the food is," if you like to hunt and fish.

Akhiok

INTRODUCTION

In 1979 the residents of Akhiok declared they wanted "to keep this village Aleut" (Davis 1979: 73-83). In 1985 they were continuing their traditional village, but it felt more open, and seemed less conservative and more active than in 1979. Perhaps it was the fine weather, and the time of year, but certainly much was happening in the village. As in all of the villages of the study area, kinship is important. There are three major groups including one large extended family. The community has a relatively young population who have chosen to live at the site of a very old village. The residents gave every indication they will continue to prefer to live at Akhiok. In many ways, by birth, by marriage, and by choice of residence, Akhiok, with a population of 102, continues to be a predominantly Koniag village.

Field Visit

Two days were spent in Akhiok: from noon on March 24 to noon on March 26, 1985. The trip was somewhat hurried because it had to be combined with data gathering in Old Harbor. After starting the field research, the principal investigator learned that several key Akhiok leaders were about to leave for a special Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) convention in Anchorage. Fortunately, the weather was good and a flight from Old Harbor to Akhiok was available. Two of the three representatives were contacted before they left the village.

In all, six discussions involving 8 individuals, (five men and 3 women) were held. These encompassed 6 households out of 24 (25%); these households included 23 (24%) of the 94 Native residents. Individuals contributing to the formal discussions included the oldest man and woman, a former village president, the current city administrator and acting tribal manager, two permit (gill net) owners, one crew member and two housewives. (There is some overlap in these positions.) In addition, informal discussions were held with the store managers, head teacher, and church committee members. Two research assistants were hired, and they efficiently completed a household census of persons, birthdates and birthplaces. They also added current information about Akhiok, including a count of operating vehicles (1 Jeep, 1 truck, and 10 three-wheelers); small boats (17 skiffs); pets (32 dogs, 6 cats) and 11 VCRs.

Several events contributed to the sense that life was active in the village. When the author arrived, four visitors were leaving--one representative of the Akhiok-Kaguyak corporation (from Kodiak), another from the Ayakulik Native corporation (from Anchorage), and two people who were variously identified as consultants, environmentalists, or lawyers. The group had come to look at the Olga Bay cannery and discuss possible purchase of the property. In the village, Sunday school was being held in the city offices. The night before, a number of men had stayed up late playing Aleut games. Bingo was played, primarily by the women, nearly every night. An organizational meeting of the health board was held on Sunday evening.

Early that morning an emergency call had been received that a man was missing; there was considerable concern that he had run into trouble getting back to his home on a nearby island. He was located but he had indeed encountered difficulty and had ended up at the cannery in Alitak instead of at his home.

The church building was being painted in preparation for Easter, and it was hoped that the community hall (which was being renovated) would be ready by April 20 for the annual meeting of the Akhiok-Kaguyak village corporation. On one day several men went out to check crab pots, and to bring in drift wood. Morale seemed unusually high in Akhiok during this field visit. Quite possibly it was because many individuals had work to do; as three people pointed out, the available jobs were distributed throughout the households.

References

Secondary sources with information on contemporary Akhiok include the village profile (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1981), the update of the Overall Economic Development Plan (OEDP) (Kodiak Area Native Association 1983), and the final sanitation report (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1983). For references to earlier sources, consult Davis (1979).

History

Here is a summary of a few historic dates, with information for Akhiok.

1880	First census: 114 residents.
1889	Arctic Packing Company established at Alitak.
1893	Arctic Packing bought by Alaska Packing Co.
1896	Visit by Russian Orthodox priest, Father Shalamof.
1910	Reserve established for the school.
1918	Alitak Packing Company.
1926	Russian Orthodox Church built.
1933	Post Office established.
1960	Request for a water and sewer system.
1964	The Great Alaskan Earthquake-Tsunami. Kaguyak families relocated in Akhiok. Seven homes built by the BIA.
1965	The water system is built.
1967	New water source established.
1968	New school built.
1977	School included 29 students.
1978	15 new HUD Houses.
1979	School included 19 students; 16 preschoolers in the village.
1979	Water and sewer system completed.
1982	New school and gym built.
1983	Home telephones installed.
1984	Airstrip upgraded; access to dock built; equipment storage.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Demography

On March 24, 1985, a total of 102 people lived in Akhiok (98 were actually there and 4 who were considered current residents were out of town). Of the 102 residents, six were non-Natives in the two families of the teachers. There also were two non-Native men who had married Akhiok women; they are considered here as permanent residents of the village. In all, there were 8 non-Natives (8% of the total population). This count does not include three Native families who live in Kodiak during the winter and fish from the village during the summer.

The year-round residents occupied 26 households (two of these were the teachers' families) for an average of 4 per house. Fourteen (58%) of the homes were comprised of a basic nuclear family: a man, a wife and their children. There were other arrangements, such as three three-generation households which included, for example, a woman, a daughter and a son's son, or a woman's uncle (her mother's brother). Also there were two households that included collateral relatives such as a woman's sister's child, and a man's younger sister. The three generation households comprised 12.5% of the total. The five households with relatives beyond the nuclear family represented 21% of the Native homes.

Of the 102 total residents, 57 (56%) were men and 45 (44%) were women. The Native population was 52 (55%) men and 42 (45%) women. Part of the disparity occurs among the children under five: 80% of the children in this age bracket were boys. Of the 94 Native residents 41% (38) were under the age 15, born after passage of ANCSA in 1971 and therefore not shareholders in either of the two local village corporations (Akhiok-Kaguyak and Ayakulik). A total of 48 residents (50%) were under the age of 20.

Birthplaces. The six non-Natives in the two teacher families were born in two foreign countries (Cuba and the Philippines), and in California, Missouri (2), and Kotzebue. The two non-Native residents who married into the village were one man from the Philippines and another man who was born in Kodiak.

The birthplaces were determined for all but six of the Native residents. The younger ones were born primarily in Kodiak (25) and Anchorage (14)--presum ably as a result of Indian Health Service's policy that children be born in hospitals. Twenty-nine individuals were born at Akhiok or Alitak. (Those designating Alitak were born in the summer--at the cannery.) One was born nearby at Moser Bay (again in the summer). Seven were originally from Kaguyak, though all but two of them have lived most of their lives in Akhiok where their families were relocated after the earthquake and tsunami of 1964.

One resident was born in Old Harbor and four in Karluk, making a total of 42 born on the southern end of the island. Note that no one born in the other three Kodiak villages (Larsen Bay, Ouzinkie or Port Lions) has moved to Akhiok. One woman from Perryville married into the village. Altogether, 43 of the 47 adults were Koniag people. Homer, Sand Point, and Washington state were also birthplaces for some of the Native population. Finally, an Indian woman from the Colville tribe in Washington state married one of the Akhiok young men.

Families. In 1985, Akhiok had 12 young couples who, since 1981, had had a total of 15 children. There were 20 children under 6 years of age. This is a continuation of a pattern also documented in 1979. Then there were 11 young couples who had 16 preschool children, five of them under one year of age. In 1985, there were two children under the age of one, and five kindergartners.

As in many small villages, Akhiok had many single men. Five were between the ages of 20 and 34, with six over 35. There were also 4 single women, three of them over 35. These 15 unmarried individuals represented a third of the adult population. They all, however, had many relatives in the village. Of the 16 marriages, four were endogamous (that is, a woman born in Akhiok married a man also born there). Eleven were exogamous marriages (one of the spouses was born elsewhere and married into the village). In three of these, men married in from Kaguyak, Kodiak and the Philippines. In eight cases, the women married in: five from Kaguyak, and one each from Washington state, from Sand Point, and from Perryville. (The birthplaces for one couple were not in the data.) There may be a question whether the young couples that include someone born in Kaguyak are truly "exogamous" because the Kaguyak families have lived in Akhiok for the last 20 years.

In 1985 Akhiok had three major families: the Petersons, the family of Fred Coyle Sr., and the Melovedoffs (originally from Kaguyak). The three families, not counting the overlap represented by spouses of each but including the overlap of 12 children through the marriage of Kaguyak people with the largest Akhiok family, comprise over 90 percent of the village.

By far the largest family was that of Ephrazinnia Ewan Peterson. Ephrazinnia was born in Karluk in 1911. Her parents, Ewan (also called Siganuk) and Fedosia (also known as Yodakay) died when she was very young. Her godmother Marsha, married to Amagee, raised her. Ephrazinnia's husband, Teacon Peterson was one of two brothers adopted by a Peterson family in Akhiok. Teacon was born in Chignik Lagoon; his mother, Mary Artemie, had a younger sister, Dora Artemie Andre Lind. Now age 82, Dora lives in Chignik Lake with her many descendants (see the Chignik Lake narrative in this volume for details). Teacon also had two uncles (his mother's brothers)--Alec Artemie and Willie Artemie, Dora's brothers--whose descendants live in Chignik Lake. Altogether, in 1985 the descendants of the Andres, Linds and Artemies in Chignik Lake totaled 82 persons living in 18 households (54% of the Lake's population). All these people are related to all the descendants of the Petersons in Akhiok (51 people--54% of Akhiok's Native population).

Going back yet another generation, the parents of the sisters Mary and Dora Artemie were Rodeonoff Artemie and Natalie Abrom. Rodeonoff was originally from the Old Harbor area; Natalie was born in Ugashik. Contemporary links to Old Harbor are through Frank and Victor Peterson, the sons of Davis Peterson. Davis was the other adopted son of Mary Artemie. One of the local elders, Walter Simeonof, married a Peterson daughter--Mary. Walter's original name was Kijuk. His father was called Passha Kijuk. At some point, he and his step-brother Jacob changed their names to Simeonof.

In 1939, Ephrazinnia and Teacon moved to Akhiok. In all, they had nine children; 5 daughters and 4 sons. Six were living, three (2 sons and 1 daughter) in Akhiok. Ephrazinnia also had 15 grandchildren, 29 great-grandchildren and 2 great-great-grandchildren living in the village. The descendants of Teacon Peterson and Ephrazinnia Ewan Peterson who resided in Akhiok in 1985 encompassed 63% of the Akhiok households. These households included 66 persons, or 70% of the village population. The children and grandchildren of just one of their daughters total 21 individuals, or 22% of the village. Even if one subtracts the 15 individuals who are not directly related, 54% of the Akhiok population remains as direct descendants. In 1979 Ephrazinnia had 42 direct descendants living in the village; in 1985 a total of 51, an increase of 9.

Another major family were the descendants of Fred Coyle, Sr. In 1985, at age 74, he was the oldest man in the village. His father was an Irish deckhand on a sailing ship, early in the century. His mother was named Kashkok and his mother's brother, Kashkash. Fred Sr. was raised by his older sister, Mary Kikeleek. In 1985, Fred Coyle and his descendants lived in 6 households in Akhiok. These included his daughter and her husband, their four daughters, and their families. These households took in 21 persons, 22% of the village population. Fred Coyle's direct descendants included 6 grandchildren and 11 great-grandchildren in the village (others lived in the town of Kodiak).

A third major segment of Akhiok was the "Kaguyak Bunch," as they were first labelled in 1964 and continue to be called. This group included two Melovedoff sisters, their children and grandchildren. A total of nine households (38% of the total), which housed 35 individuals (38% of the total population), made up this segment. Included were a total of 27 direct descendants of the late Walter Melovedoff, the distinguished Orthodox lay reader of Kaguyak and Akhiok. In 1964, 30 people were moved to Akhiok after the nearby village of Kaguyak was destroyed by the tsunami following the earthquake. Since that time, all members of the older generation have died and other villagers have moved to Kodiak city or elsewhere. But the two sisters, seven of their children, and 18 grandchildren have chosen to stay in Akhiok. In the 1970s two large Akhiok families moved to Old Harbor. Two Larionoff brothers moved there, it was said, "because their daughters married Old Harbor men, and they wanted to be with their grandchildren." It is interesting to note that despite this out-migration the total population of Akhiok continues to be stable over time.

Three families, two originally from Akhiok, and one originally from Kaguyak, lived in the town of Kodiak during the winter and returned to Akhiok to fish in the summer. This fluctuation of the summer and winter populations was similar to the Larsen Bay pattern, but not so marked as that at Chignik Bay and Chignik Lagoon. The social links between Akhiok and other villages included the major connection established early in the century through Teacon Peterson's family with people who now live in Chignik Lake. In 1939 there was a link to Karluk, and, through Davis Peterson, more recent ties to Old Harbor. In 1964 there was the inclusion of Kaguyak people; and in the 1970s ties to Kodiak city when whole families moved there.

Finally, there were contemporary family connections between Akhiok and both Ivanof Bay and Perryville. An Akhiok woman (Elizabeth Peterson) married an Ivanof Bay man (Archie Kalmakoff), and a Perryville woman (Annie Shangin) married an Akhiok man (Nick Peterson). Through these two marriages, all the Petersons of Akhiok are linked socially to all the Kalmakoffs of Ivanof Bay, and to all the Shangins in Perryville. Thus, some of the former ties between these traditional Koniag villages continue. Through the early, and now these later connections, the links between Akhiok and the Peninsula area are greater than those with the northern and western villages of Ouzinkie, Larsen Bay and Afognak.

The School

A new school building, along with a program that included high school, opened in 1982. In 1985, there were 26 students in kindergarten through 12 grades, distributed as follows:

Kindergarten	5	Sixth	2
First Grade	4	Seventh	1
Second	4	Tenth	2
Third	4	Eleventh	1
		Twelfth	3

Several of the village children were attending school in Kodiak, while living with their grandparents, which may partly explain why four of the grades have no pupils. There were 2½ teacher positions; all the teachers were new to the village in the year 1984-85. From the community, the school hired 2 aides each for 5 hours, 2 custodians each for 4 hours, and 1 day man for 6 hours. These five local individuals provided the school, and the students, with continuity not available through the recurrently changing teaching staff.

The Russian Orthodox Church

The church, built in 1926, continued to be maintained by the local residents, although donations after fishing was no longer a practice. According to a villager, "They used to do that, but now things are too costly." Instead funds are raised through contributions at the bingo games and by special events such as bake sales. The church occupies an important niche in community life. The religious holidays of Christmas and Easter are especially significant. By way of illustration, at the time of our field visit, paper flowers had been made and soon would be put in the church; on March 25, seven people were busy painting the church building.

The lay readers in 1985 included Ephraim Agnot, a local elder, and Luba Alexandroff Eluska, the granddaughter of Wa'ter Melovedoff, the former lay reader of Kaguyak. The church committee members included:

President:	Miney Agnot
Treasurer:	Andrew Kahutak
Members:	Ephraim Agnot
	David Eluska
	Olga Alexandroff Simeonoff
	Luba Alexandroff Eluska

Each of the major families is represented on this committee. And the continuity of the tradition of church leadership is reflected by inclusion of the son of a former lay reader and of two of Walter Melovedoff's granddaughters.

Health

The health aide was in Anchorage at the time of the field visit. The new health committee had an organizational meeting on March 24, 1985. The members and officers were:

Chairman	Albert Simeonoff
Vice Chairman	Nick Peterson
Treasurer	Olga Alexandroff Simeonoff
Members	Walter Simeonoff, Sr.
	Barbara Rastofsoff Phillips

Vital Statistics obtained from the state disclosed that from 1970 through 1984, a total of 46 births were recorded. The age of the mother was available for 44 of these births (the 1984 data did not include the age of the mother). Between 1970 and 1983, 55% (24) of these births were to mothers 20 years of age or under, while 45% (20) were to women between 21 and 31 years old. Between 1977 and 1984, there were 9 marriages. No recorded marriages occurred during 1977, 1979 and 1982. Four divorces were recorded during the period of 1970-1984. From 1970 through 1984, there were 9 deaths of Akhiok residents.

Social Activities

In addition to church and school activities, bingo was played in the evenings. A card cost 10 cents each per game, with a quarter from each game put in the church jar. Smoking, drinking coffee, and visiting were part of the event, which was primarily a woman's activity. A leisure time activity, especially for the young men, was "taking a spin"--which means riding a three wheeler. Some of the men play traditional Aleut games.

Out of the range of possibilities, however, visiting continued to be the dominant social activity in this small, conservative Koniag village. During the short field trip, Mr. Coyle regularly made his rounds to see his daughter and his grandchildren and their families. Ephrazinnia was visited by her sons and grandchildren. No wonder Akhiok appeared to be a busy place--in addition to family to visit, there are now paying jobs to attend to and various persons from different agencies, corporations, and programs to meet with.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Politically, Akhiok surely must be the most complex small village in the study area. In the 1970s there were three village corporations. Two of these, Akhiok and Kaguyak, merged in 1979. Later this entity joined with Koniag, Inc., but since has de-merged and today is once again a combined, separate corporation. The third corporation is for Ayakulik, one of the nine appealed Koniag villages; it has remained throughout a distinct corporate entity. In addition to these village corporations, Akhiok has both a city and a tribal council.

City government.

In 1985, the City was managed by Andy Kahutak. A man with a college degree in business administration, he had returned to the village only for a year. He expressed a philosophy of both controlling change yet "getting back to the way we used to be." He was in favor of encouraging tourism in the vicinity, but not necessarily in the village itself. His attitude and leadership may have been one reason the village seemed "up beat," and more open to visitors.

Andy, or "Doc" as he was called, was popular with the villagers--a number of people spontaneously commented how well they felt he was doing. For one thing, he had managed to distribute the jobs throughout the village households, something that had not happened before. He was applying for more housing, and was preparing a request for funds to upgrade the road to the barge landing area, so it would be easier to get food, fuel and freight into the village. While the tribal manager was out of town for medical care, Kahutak was acting manager. He also served as president of the Akhiok-Kaguyak Corporation.

One villager, a former president of the council now in his mid-fifties, said he was "holding back so others like my son-in-law can have an opportunity." His son-in-law was Andy Kahutak. Another man in his early 50s commented that he too was withdrawing from politics: "I am done with that. I can do as I please." Both these men were prominent spokesmen in the 1960s and 1970s, but now were letting younger men take the leadership positions.

ANCSA and Land Issues

Shareholder addresses. A total of 142 persons were enrolled to the two merged villages of Akhiok and Kaguyak. Addresses for 136 were available. Of these, 51% (70) were men and 49% (66) were women. Two were non-Native. A total of 29% (39) lived in Akhiok, with about the same--28% (38)--in Kodiak city. Seventeen percent (23) had addresses in other Kodiak villages, 13% (17) in other Alaskan towns, and 12% (16) outside the state. Like Karluk, a sizable proportion (33%) of those individuals born in the 1930s had addresses Outside. Of the 27 Ayakulik enrollees, an unusually large number--17 (63%)--were living in Akhiok.

Land Claims attitudes. The discussion about how the land claims had changed life in the community elicited an assortment of responses. "Now it is all real estate," was one comment. In general, the older men seemed to think there were few or no changes resulting from the claims settlement. One man said, "The federal government is trying to get the land back. That is why they are meeting in Anchorage"--referring to the March, 1985 AFN convention. Another man, a former council president, stated, "There's no changes (from the land claims) here. It is the state and federal funds that have really changed things."

When the question was posed to a young man who was about to leave for the AFN convention, a long silence followed; then he laughed and declared, "It sure made us aware of politics!" He was hoping that jobs would be generated for the next generation. The city administrator responded quietly, "A lot, I guess." Then after a pause, he added, "Well, not really. We are trying to stay the same. The change is in our minds. You can't see it. The change is in the future and we are scared of that. There is more awareness among the young people. The changes are in the way of thinking."

Allotments. Ten Akhiok individuals filed for Native Allotments; four live in the village. Those four filed for a total of 537 acres. There had been no action on these allotments as of 1985.

Leadership

Akhiok has played a singular role in producing leaders in the land claims movement. Frank Peterson, a former KANA president, and Ralph Eluska, the 1985 chairman of the board of directors of Koniag, Inc., are examples; both were born and raised in Akhiok. Frank and Victor Peterson now live in Old Harbor, where they own Martha's restaurant, and Frank is the tribal manager. Several of the Akhiok young men who are now leaders were raised by their grandparents. For example, one graduated from high school and went to Sheldon Jackson College; he served on the council and the health committee and was a delegate to the AFN convention. Another, raised by the same grandparents, was Chairman of Koniag, Inc. and a state employee in Anchorage in 1985. This is a finding consistent with patterns found in an earlier study of the NANA area (Davis and McNabb 1983).

Another pattern found in the NANA research was that the older leaders, men in their 50s, were withdrawing from active participation in leadership roles. One possible hypothesis is that Eskimo men, unlike Indian men, tend to release leadership positions relatively early in their lives. Indian men accumulate power and influence over time and tend not to turn it over to younger people as seems to be the custom among the Eskimos.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Throughout this discussion, it must be recalled that the analysis is based on information acquired at a particular time, two days in March, 1985. Provided here is baseline data for comparisons both with other villages during the same year, and with Akhiok at other times in its own cycle.

Subsistence activities and food preferences

Asking about favorite foods revealed diverse preferences among the residents of Akhiok. The subsistence favorites balanced choices purchased at the store, which included Chinese and Japanese dishes. The local foods named went from "Everything that comes from nature" to dried salmon, clams, seals, birds, and oomidak with seal oil. No land animal was identified as a preferred food. Data on 12 meals in 6 households (25% of the village) involving a regular resident population of 29 persons (30% of the village) provided the following lists.

Subsistence foods:

Item	No. of Households	No. of People
Ptarmigan	2	8
Octopus	1	5
Canned salmon	1	5

Purchased foods (the base for 8 meals):

Item	No. of Households	No. of People
Chicken	2	6
Spam & Cheese	1	7
Roast beef	1	5
Pork chops	1	6
Macaroni	1	1
Beans	1	1
Hamburger	1	4

The above data contrasts markedly with the food eaten by the researcher in Akhiok on April 29 through May 2, 1979. At that time, the following foods were served: clams, pickled salmon, sea lion soup, smoked silver salmon, venison steak, fish pie, dried sea lion meat, and salmon loaf. In 1985 there was only one serving of subsistence foods--canned red salmon, and fried bread for a snack. Although the two experiences are not exactly comparable, the differences indicate that purchased foods were much more available, and consumed, in March 1985 than in May, 1979.

As far as subsistence undertakings go, one household said they thought about putting up fish last summer (1984), but didn't do it. One elder commented, "We're not eating as much subsistence as in the olden days... young generation too lazy." However, another household processed 79 bags of salmonberries, 4 cases of salmon and 2 cases of cranberries in the summer of 1984. One individual noted their family used to have lots of seal, but "Now, more sea lion since the Kaguyak people moved here." Indeed the sea lion are sometimes very close by. It was reported that, on December 4, 1984, one came up the steps of a house located about 150 feet from the beach, and then proceeded to jump off an 8 foot porch.

In the discussion around "What do you do in the summer?" additional clues were provided. Two people mentioned subsistence-related activities; for example, "salt fish" and " make jams." Others spoke of commercial fishing, cannery work, and "the teachers come (to fish)." The importance of local jobs, noted in 1979, clearly continues in 1985. One leader confessed, "What I would like to do is be fishing; what I actually do is work in the office." In sum, subsistence activities in Akhiok involved a few individuals actively in harvest. Generational differences in participation are perceived by the villagers. A change in the use of the sea mammal population was noted.

Stores

A local outlet, the Ayakulik Store, was started about 1982 when the village corporation, Ayakulik, Inc., invested $10,000 to capitalize the venture. It is a neat, clean and modest store located in part of the old school building, rented from the city for $200 a month. Although the electricity is free, heating fuel costs $61.70 a barrel, and the store required about four barrels a month ($246). Two men worked there, assisted on a volunteer basis by their wives. One person was hired for $4.50 an hour, and the manager figured his wages every two weeks by taking 13% of the total sales. For example, if $4,000 worth of goods were sold, the manager's salary for that two week period would be $520. The corporation's profit was figured at 1.75%. Although no dividends had been paid, the store was breaking even, which is an impressive feat in a small village. The credit line for individuals was $75, and to cash a check, a person had to spend at least half the amount of the check on purchases at the store. Since there are no banking services, the store served as a local bank.

The manager ordered goods from Krafts and Shelikof Net in Kodiak and chartered a plane or paid parcel post or Sea Air for freight. A Navajo twin engine plane could bring in 2,100 pounds for $350; a charter of a "207" which could transport 1,800 pounds cost $250. After the goods arrived at the airstrip, over a half a mile away, the workers from the store transported the boxes, two at a time, on the back of a three wheeler. It is hard work, but one had a sense that the young manager and his assistant enjoyed the work, and obviously the store provided an important service to the village. The manager indicated he did not order much fresh fruit or vegetables, and when he did, he did not count on making a profit; instead, he charged only the actual cost plus whatever was paid to bring them in. One experimental item recently put in stock was ginger root; and the pork chops prepared for one of the village meals noted in the chart above included ginger root (for the first time). When asked what the "hot" items in his store were, the manager identified pop, candy, ice cream, chips, and cigarettes.

In addition to food and household goods, the store had five video games. It cost from 25 cents to 50 cents to play a game. The machines were reportedly grossing about $100 a week. During the summer, the manager worked at the nearby cannery at Alitak, and he turned off the store's freezer. His wife kept shortened store hours. However, in the summer the cannery store was open so there was less business for the village enterprise.

In addition to purchasing locally, either at the Ayakulik Store or at the cannery during the summer, the residents shopped in Kodiak city. Several families bought case lots from the cannery after fishing season. Others ordered from Krafts (which accepts food stamps), Shelikof Net, or the City Market and had the goods shipped. Sometimes families will pool an order to cut down on costs. Groceries also are brought back by people who go to town for meetings. That was one reason the researcher had roast beef and green salad for dinner one evening--a high school student had returned from a training program in Kodiak city and had brought fresh goods for the family.

Costs

Villagers shared information on portions of their household budgets. In the case of one family of seven, the head of the household said they could live well on $350 every two weeks; at the time, they were trying to manage on $200. Another household reported they felt they were falling behind on the fuel bill. They were charging 2 out of every 3 barrels, and they needed 3 barrels a month to heat the one room segment of their house that they had curtained off. The budget estimated for one month for a household of 5 included:

Telephone costs:	$75-80 (and as high as $240)
House payments:	$83
Fuel:	$225
Food:	$400-500

Yet another family, with 6 members, figured their cash needs were $700 a month, not counting the winter supply of groceries they had bought at the cannery after fishing season. This family's costs involved:

House payments:	$83
Fuel	$160
Electricity	$80

A household accounting was provided by one man who lived alone. He figured that, in addition to an $83 house payment, he could make it through the winter on 30 barrels of fuel. His electricity cost $40 to $50 a month, and he was trying out his own light plant to see if running it would cost less than buying electricity from the community source.

The cost of fuel varied, depending on where it was purchased. In Akhiok it was $90 a barrel; in Alitak (the cannery) it was $60 a barrel. Gasoline at Alitak was $63.70 a barrel in March, 1985. As an example of oil consumption, one man who lived in a small, well built home, bought $1,100 worth of oil from the cannery in the fall of 1984. By March 24, 1985, he had one drum left. To get additional fuel, he planned to pay a friend $10 to go over to the cannery to buy some more. The man expected to pay for the gas and let his friend take his skiff. As an aside, it was interesting to observe that, other than the school and city offices, Fred Coyle Sr.'s family had all the operating telephones in Akhiok.

Commercial Fishing

Akhiok fishermen held four limited entry fishing permits--two purse seine permits and two set net (gill net) permits. One of the purse seine permit owners also owns a boat; the other leases one from the cannery. The villagers reported it was tougher to make money purse seining than at the set net sites. Several men had applied for permits. In one case, a man in his mid-thirties had been fishing for someone who owns 2 permits. For this work, he received a 20% share; he bought his own food, and the owner provided the fuel. In another case, a man in his fifties was trying to get a boat and a permit to give to his son.

The average age of the four permit owners was 56 years. The youngest was 44 and the oldest, 75. The average for five crew members for whom age was known, was 30 years. The youngest was 18--he earned 13% working on a seine boat owned by a person who lives outside the state. The oldest crewman was 39--he earned 16% after working five seasons on his step-father's boat. The earnings of this crew member illustrate the decline in salmon purse seine fishing on the southern end of the Kodiak Island. In his first season, this individual received a 12% crew share, and grossed $12,000. In his fifth season he earned a higher percentage (16%) but took home only $200 after buying a winter's supply of groceries. He had grossed $3,500 in 1984. Another man said he made only $750 the last season he crewed.

Several fisherman commented that there are more boats from the northern part of the island now fishing in the area, so "There is too much gear in the water." The purse seine fishermen feel they do not do well partly because they harvest mostly dog salmon and humpies, which fail to pay as much as red salmon. The reds sold in the area for $1.05 a pound in 1984. The set netters catch more of the red salmon. One of the set net fisherman explained some of the economic dimensions of salmon fishing in the Olga Bay area. He takes two of his sons as crew members and they split the earnings three ways. He has four plywood skiffs, including one "holding" skiff (the largest) and a "picking" skiff. He has two nets, 150 fathoms in all, 75 fathoms each.

To cover summer expenses, which include fuel, food, and gear replacement, costs between $28,000 and $29,000. An example of a "good year" would be one in which the group nets $8,000 to $9,000 each. An "extra boat share" is taken out of proceeds distributed by the buyer later in the winter. This fisherman feels a strong commitment to sell exclusively to one buyer, Columbia Wards; however, in late fall when the CW plant is closed, he will sell to a cash buyer. At the time of the field visit not many local people said they would work at the cannery at Alitak, although at least 4 Akhiok residents were there in 1984. In any case, there may be more local employees in 1985 than there were in 1979, when disillusion with the cannery management was widespread. Since 1979, the facility has stopped operating year-round, returning to the pre-crab boom pattern of summer operation. It was reported the cannery was trying to sell their boats for $30,000, with a $5,000 down payment.

Jobs

With few permits or crew positions available, jobs grow in importance, and their distribution among the households becomes crucial to both the local economy and the social well-being of the community. In 1979, village men were waiting for local employment on a public health project. Since that time, many different projects have come to the village, presumably bringing with them at least some local hire. For example, in fiscal year 1984, there was a sanitary landfill development ($100,000), an erosion control project, and the installation of a generator ($60,000). In 1985, a dock facility access road costing $560,000 was anticipated. Additional work included school construction (though only one person was hired locally), plus telephone and television installation.

The relative importance of local "regular," though part-time, positions was illustrated in the discussion around what people do in the winter. Five men and 1 woman replied, "Work in the village." One man said "fish"; no one answered "hunting." Employment in the fishing sector (4 permit holders and a few crew positions) has already been described. In addition, there were 2½ teaching positions not held by local villagers. Aside from these, a total of 28 jobs were identified in Akhiok in March, 1985. Fifteen were held by men and 13 by women. The work was distributed to 21 of the 24 Native households. The three households identified as not having anyone holding a regular position of at least a few hours a week were all involved in fishing. All had either a permit holder (1 a purse seine, another a set net) or a crew member who did well in the summer (1). (It is possible these households had someone in a job but that fact may have been overlooked by the researcher.) Here is the list of jobs available in Akhiok in March, 1985.

Positions held by local men:

Tribal Manager	1	
Tribal Officer aide	1	
Store employees	2	
Carpenters	3	
VPSO	1	
Recreation director	1	
Generator operator	2	
Fire Department	1	(1 hour/day)
Fuel pump	1	
Custodian	2	
Dayman	1	
Pump house	1	(2 hours/day)

Positions held by local women:

Nutrition program leader	1
Community Health Aide	1
Health aide alternate	1
Teacher aide	2
Teacher aide, temporary	1
Librarian	1
Custodian	2
Senior Cook	1
Post office	1
City Administrator	1

An illustration of the social significance of a job was provided by the position of senior cook. The job had recently changed hands when the incumbent had decided the expenses of preparing 2 meals a week made it more trouble than it was worth. The costs included electricity to keep the food frozen and the fuel to cook the meals; the pay was $30 a week. Further, there were only 3 eligible seniors in the village. "Why not just give them the food and let them cook it?" commented one person. The elders were all capable, and besides they ate many meals with relatives. However, having the job available may be more important than the actual service the program provided.

In 1985, revenue sharing funds to the city totalled $36,000; the administrator anticipated a budget of $80,000 to $90,000. Of this, $41,000 would be operating expenses. A weatherization project was already underway ($50,000). In 1979 an OEDP report identified several projects the village hoped could be undertaken in the future. The number one priority of roads has been met, and other desired projects such as a new school building, fire protection, recreational facilities and airstrip improvements have come to pass as well (Davis 1979:82).

In discussing extra money, such as permanent fund dividend checks, most residents identified bills, groceries, and Christmas presents as the most likely uses of surplus cash. One individual bought a television set, another a "kicker" (an outboard motor), yet another a second-hand skiff, and one puts extra money in a bank in Kodiak.

Outdoor Recreation

The possible development of the recreational potential of the southern part of Kodiak Island has been discussed both locally and by Koniag, Inc. Five local men were asked what they thought about the prospects of outdoor recreation development in the vicinity of Akhiok. They were clearly in support of the idea. For example:

> I'm for it 100% - as long as they leave our village alone.
>
> I hope it happens because it would help everyone here.
>
> Guiding is a good idea.
>
> Akhiok is getting into sports fishing. Maybe in a year or two...

One resident indicated he had heard that around Kenai guides get $150 to $300 a day.

The above comments were offered the day after corporate representatives had visited the village. We understood they had a meeting to discuss the possibility of participating in a recreational venture. So the observations must be considered in this context. At the same time, these comments are a definite indication of a change in attitude in contemporary Akhiok toward outsiders.

SUMMARY

Akhiok is notable for several reasons. First is the importance of kinship. There are clear, strong family ties among the three major kinship groups. The community has a relatively young population that has chosen to live at the site of a very old village. On all accounts it can be anticipated that these residents will continue to prefer to live at Akhiok. Patterns that emphasize matrilineal connections show continuity in this village. These patterns were reflected in three separate examples by local residents. To start with, a research assistant was asked to count up all the people in the Kaguyak group. She counted the women, and their descendants, but not the men nor their descendants. Next, Ephrazinnia lived first in her home village, Karluk, then later moved to her husband's home village, but not until most of her children were born. She was the one who contrasted how the children behave now with "the old days, when their uncles (mother's brothers) kept them in line." Finally, a mother's brother lived in the household of his sister's daughter.

Akhiok is also noteworthy for its economic situation. A decrease in fishing opportunities and the consequent drop in fishing income is partly balanced by a marked increase in the number of local jobs available. The growing experience with wage paying jobs and the accompanying experience with outsiders who manage these jobs (often from the town of Kodiak) may partly explain why Akhiok appears to be a more open village. It was the only village of the 11 in the study area that voiced an active interest in outdoor recreation and the possibility of a recreation site nearby. (Larsen Bay residents indicated some, but less enthusiastic, interest.) It has been suggested that there was a decrease in subsistence-related activities. It seems reasonable to hypothesize that the number of local jobs, the relatively new affluence of the residents, and the availability of diversified goods, is related, at least temporarily, to this suggested decrease in subsistence participation. On the other hand, should anything happen to local employment because of a decline in funding, then a return to fuller utilization of local resources seems equally possible. Of course, some people might move to the city instead.

Akhiok is also unique as the site of the relocation of Kaguyak after the 1964 natural disaster. The difficulty of one village absorbing another was clearly indicated in 1965 when the author first went to Akhiok. After 20 years, there was still some evidence of this separation; one Akhiok resident commented, "They didn't know how to live. They are starting to get our ideas (now)." The "Kaguyak Bunch" seemed assimilated, but with a clear sense of their original identity.

Perceptions of change

In the focused discussions, the query that revealed some of these local perceptions was, "What kinds of changes have been going on here?" Generally the villagers reported that things were better "because we got better housing. People are more comfortable." One former leader recalled how the people were "bugging him in the 1960s to get Akhiok caught up--and now they have." Indeed much had happened physically in the village since the mid-70s, especially with the construction of facilities, houses, the school, roads, and the airstrip and its improvements.

The expansion of local employment has already been cited. Some observations about the Village Public Safety Officer's job (VPSO) can be made in this connection. The VPSO position was one that had been added in Akhiok. The person who had the job in the spring of 1985 lost it later that summer. The VPSO's position is an extremely difficult one when the incumbent belongs to a family that represents over half the village, and has married into one that represents another 28%. Such was the case in this village. In the Kodiak Island villages, the VPSO is the best paid position available to a local resident--not counting the teachers positions. Other changes the residents saw were in the behavior of youngsters, including a "lack of respect by the children. Now kids sass the parents." Finally, one villager commented about all of the changes: "The bucks really start to count!"

OCS Development and the Future

In general, responses to the question about attitudes if oil or gas were found remained consistent with the interest expressed in 1979. Furthermore, these responses were consistent with the increased interest in and success of the villagers with wage paying jobs.

Typical of the responses were:

> The way the fishing is going, I would say 'go ahead'.
>
> If Alaska Natives don't lose the land, it would be okay.
>
> I would encourage my sons and grandchildren to look for work.

However, several people displayed some ambivalence about leaving the village for a job somewhere else. "After the kids are grown up, then maybe..." Others intimated they might go if the pay was good enough.

We end this descriptive narrative with illustrations from the topic that was, in practice, used to open the focused village discussions: "What do you like best about living in Akhiok?"

> In town, I go to a bar when I'm lonesome or depressed; here I visit and crochet.
>
> More relaxed here.
>
> I was born here.
>
> I don't have to work if I don't want to...but now with lights and telephones, I have to work some.

I have my own home. It was kind of rough years ago.

My children live here. (This gentleman has both children and grandchildren in the village; a total of 30 altogether.)

This is a good place to raise kids.

Old Harbor

INTRODUCTION

Description

The largest village in the study area is Old Harbor. In May, 1985 it had a population of 337 residents in 93 households. The community is divided into two nearly equal parts connected by a mile long road. The downtown area includes 48 residences, most of them built shortly after the 1964 Earthquake and Tsunami. These neat, colorful homes are arranged on lots 100' x 50' in six rows, with an array of banyas and sheds between. The main road bisects the village between rows 3 and 4. The downtown section also includes the schools, city offices, clinic, church, and Native-owned businesses: two stores and a restaurant. In contrast to this flat, older part of town, the new "uptown" section has a series of streets on a hill. Built to the north, it is subdivided into slightly larger lots. As indicated in the demographic section, this area houses a younger population. Additional HUD houses were built in the summer of 1985 in a third area to the northeast, but as of October they were not yet occupied. When completed, Old Harbor will have three major parts and will name them after the original three saints of Three Saints Bay, the first permanent Russian settlement in North America.

Field Trips

Two visits were made to Old Harbor. The first one took place during three days between American Christmas and Russian Christmas: January 2 to January 5, 1985. Russell Barsh, an internationally-known native rights attorney, led a KANA-sponsored workshop on political economy. The workshop was followed by a board meeting of the KANA directors. About 27 visitors, both from the other villages and from agencies such as the BIA, came to Old Harbor for different parts of the meetings. At the same time, the community was busy getting ready for one of the biggest holidays at the Orthodox church: Russian Christmas. Although no focused discussions were held at this time, a sense of the complexity of the political issues was gained, and a chance to get reacquainted with this, the largest of the villages, was provided; the opportunity greatly enhanced our overall Kodiak research effort.

The second trip, also for a total of 3 days, was divided into two parts, interrupted by a 2-day visit to nearby Akhiok. On March 22, 1985, research assistants were hired and trained in the evening, and they began the village census the following morning. They worked on their own while N. Davis went to Akhiok. On March 26-28, the village census was completed, and seven disussions were held. Also, seven additional individuals were contacted for specific information. The school, health clinic, stores, church and restaurant were visited. However, it developed that in order to do a comprehensive house count of so large a community, much of the time necessarily had to be devoted to this task. As a result, both the project and the village have an accurate assessment of population, household composition, ages and birthplaces.

As in January, the village was a busy place in March. People were preparing for Easter. A large, yellow, electric emergency siren arrived on March 27, twenty-one years to the day after the Great Alaskan Earthquake and Tsunami. An AFN representative had just left. Boys from other village schools arrived and a wrestling tournament was held. Two health personnel from KANA were in town holding special clinic hours. Men were preparing boats for the coming herring season. Others were leaving to attend the AFN convention in Anchorage. The flow of people and aircraft in and out of Old Harbor was impressive.

The seven discussion sessions included 9 persons, 4 men and 5 women, who lived in 7 different households with a resident total of 45, 15% of the Native population of the village. In addition, four other major discussions were held, but without the more formal structure. In all, 7 fishermen, the mayor, tribal president, two council members, store manager, restaurant owners, missionary, VPSO, and 3 housewives contributed to the content of the discussions.

As already noted, a major part of the data gathering was accomplished by four assistants. They met the first evening in the city offices, in the presence of the Church women who were making paper flowers to decorate the Church for Easter. There was no question about what was being done either by them or by the research team; the activities of both were quite public. Consistent with our research format, the assistants (3 women and 1 man) first agreed on what were reasonable topics to include. We decided to select a few, rather than too many, and even the few that were selected provided some problems. To further simplify the process of data acquisition, the houses were numbered and the researchers elected to work together in pairs, one set for uptown and one for downtown. Information sheets, one per household, were prepared with the household number, name of the household, date, and initials of the researcher. The ages of children in school were added from the school enrollment sheet, and the birthdates of some of the shareholders were found on the corporation list, thus simplifying the effort. Even so, the necessity of actually going to homes and gathering information was not an easy task.

HISTORY

The following dates are provided to place the contemporary village in the context of previous historical events.

1784	Shelikoff established the first Russian settlement in Alaska in nearby Three Saints Bay.
1788	A tsunami destroyed Three Saints Bay.
1793	Russian community was moved to Kodiak.
1884	Three Saints Harbor reestablished.
1890	Census of the area taken.
1917	Innokenty Inga, Lay Reader at Old Harbor.
1926	Kodiak Fisheries Co. cannery at Shearwater.

1926	School established.
1930	Reserve for school: 7.66 acres.
1931	Post office established.
1933	Gold exploration, with a 40 foot tunnel, at Barling Bay.
1936	Store opened.
1952	Missionary arrived.
1960	Proposal for water and sewer system.
1963	Fall elections: Jacob Simeonoff, village chief. Sven Haakanson, village second or vice-chief.
1964	March 27. Earthquake followed by tsunami. Most of the village destroyed, except for the church, school and missionary house. March 28 - 30. Evacuation to city of Kodiak, followed by removal to Anchorage. April 12. First group of men return to build "tent city" at Old Harbor site. April 24. Most of the Kaguyak survivors moved to Akhiok. May 1 and 3. Villagers return to Old Harbor.
1964	44 houses constructed.
1966	Incorporation as fourth class city. Elementary school built.
1966	Theater and pool hall.
1967	City dock built, extended in 1979.
1967	Two general stores.
1968	Air strip constructed.
1968	Fuel delivery service.
1968	Floating fish processing ship, the Sonya, established operations.
1971	Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Enrollees to Old Harbor: 330
1972	Community Hall built.
1973	July 3. New Post Office building opened.
1974	Incorporated as a second class city.
1974	Old Harbor village corporation invested $200,000 in the Larsen Bay Cannery.
1975	Floating freezer, the Sonya, burned.
1977	Sanitary Landfill installed.
1978-79	45 new HUD houses built in "Uptown."
1979	New high school built.
1980	Village Corporation merged with Koniag, Inc.
1984	January 27. Demerger from Koniag. Reorganization of village corporation.
1984	July 3. Martha's Restaurant opened.

For greater detail on community history, consult Davis (1971; 1979). The following quotation from Porter 1890 is included for its description of the village nearly one hundred years ago:

> The village of Old Harbor, named Starui Gavan by the Russians and Nunamiut by the natives, is situated upon a grassy flat on the western bank of the strait between Kadiak and Sitkhlidak islands. This settlement, containing now less than 100 people, was once an important station of the Russian Fur Company, who here obtained large

> quantities of dried fish for their native hunting parties as well as beef for their other employees from herds of cattle which found abundant pasture throughout the year. The dwellings of the people, mostly sod huts, with here and there a small log house, indicating exceptional prosperity, extend in a single line along the shore, with a good gravel path as a village street between the houses and the beach. At the southern end, upon a slight eminence, a neat new chapel with painted roof and belfry can be seen, together with the remnants of an older sacred edifice" (Porter 1890:77).

Old Harbor continues to be an exceptionally prosperous community, with a strong, and well maintained church.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Demography

Old Harbor has had a steady increase in population since 1920. The growth is reflected in the following figures:

Year	Number of residents
1920	84
1940	109
1960	193
1970	290
1980	340
1985	337

Note especially the increase between 1960 and 1970; this seems a remarkable growth that may have come partly as result of the rebuilding of the village following the 1964 Earthquake. The decade between 1964 and 1974 was one that saw considerable construction and, for a while, a floating processor at the community. However, the population growth may be leveling off. A village count accomplished in 1983 indicated a total of 375 persons. Our March 1985 census tallied 337. In the meantime, between 1983 and 1985, at least 28 babies had been born to local women, and there had been four deaths.

To reconcile the discrepancy, the 1983 census was reviewed with two research assistants; they identified a total of 88 persons who had left the village since 1983. Of the 88, 18 were non-Native, temporary residents, primarily teachers. Of the 70 Native residents, 22 were living in Kodiak in 1985, and 25 had moved to Anchorage. Four had moved to Metlakatla, and 1 to California. Two were in the military, 1 in college, and 3 in high school elsewhere; 7 return regularly during the summer, and 6 were temporarily out of the village on vacation. Thus it appears there was considerable outmigration between 1983 and 1985. However, caution should be used in interpreting these figures. For one thing, many of the former residents may consider themselves only temporarily out of the village, and intend to return later, especially if more houses are built and jobs are generated in the community.

The census taken between March 24 and 28, 1985 in the two major sections of the community ascertained that 337 residents lived in 93 households. Of this number, 297 (88%) were Native and 40 (12%) were non-Native residents. The total population was equally distributed between the older part, called "downtown," and the newer "uptown" section about 2 miles away. Downtown had 170 and uptown, 167 residents. However this 50-50 distribution was likely to shift in 1985 as people, primarily from downtown, moved to the new HUD houses being built in a third area.

For the total Native population (297) there was an unequal distribution of males and females: 165 males (56%) to 132 (44%) females. This characteristic is often found in rural Alaskan villages. The uptown Native population was evenly distributed between male and female, but there were proportionately more men living in the downtown area. The uptown figures were 78 males and 77 females; however, downtown there were 87 (61%) males and 55 (39%) females. Note also that the older individuals tended to live downtown. All 6 Native residents over 64 lived there. Of the 40 residents 50 years of age and over, 26, or nearly 2/3rds were living downtown. Also, about 70% of the non-Native population lived in the downtown area; most of them are the teachers and their children.

The villagers mentioned that the uptown area houses more young people, and this local observation was further confirmed by the distribution of the children. Of the 33 children under five years, 21, or 64% lived uptown. This characteristic continued through the next age bracket. Of the 67 children under ten years, 44, or 66% lived uptown. However, the trend shifted to 50-50 for the next age bracket (10 to 14 years of age--20 in each area), and then doubled in favor of the downtown area for the ages of 15 to 19 (67% of them lived downtown).

Old Harbor has a relatively young population overall. Of the Native residents, 107 were under 15 years of age (36%) and 140 (47%) were under 20. The implications of this age distribution for the village corporation are considered in the later section on political organization.

Household Analysis. Of the 93 houses occupied in March 1985, there were 10 (8 downtown) where non-Natives lived, 8 that included mixed marriages, and 75 that were Native households. The number of people in each home ranged from one to 10. The average number residing in the non-Native households was 3.2 persons; the average residing in the Native and mixed households was 3.67 persons.

Here is the household distribution:

Number of residents	Uptown	Downtown	Non-Native
1	3	9	1
2	11	5	4
3	7	10	1
4	5	2	2
5	13	4	1
6	3	3	0
7	2	4	1
8	0	0	0
9	0	1	0
10	0	1	0
Total Households	44	39	10

The following analysis is based on 83 of the 93 households occupied in March 1985. The 10 non-Native households are deleted to make the information comparable with the other communities.

Single person	11	(13%)
Nuclear family	29	(35%)
Three generation	7	(8%)
Mother and child(ren)	7	(8%)
Father and child(ren)	7	(8%)
Collateral relatives	8	(10%)
Other	14	(17%)
Total	83	(99%)

As further explanation, nine in the 11 single person households are single men, 2 are women. The term "collateral" refers to relatives of the same generation in the same household; for example: brother and sister, a woman, her children and her brother, a man, his family, and his brother. Examples of arrangements placed here under "other" include a man and his grandson, a couple without children, informal arrangements of a man and woman, and the inclusion of a friend, but not a relative, in a household.

Marriage patterns. Endogamous marriages, i.e. both the husband and wife were born in the village, are relatively rare in Old Harbor. Out of a total of 46 (43 Native) marriages (21 in downtown and 25 in uptown), only 8 (17%) were endogamous. Another three were marriages of Native people born elsewhere, and now living in Old Harbor. The remaining 33 (72%) marriages were exogamous, i.e. one spouse was a resident of Old Harbor and one spouse came into the village from elsewhere. Of the 33, in about half (17) the man married into the village. Six of these men were non-Native; 8 were from other Kodiak villages; and three from other coastal villages west of Old Harbor. In 16 cases, it was a woman from elsewhere who married into the village. Two were non-Native women; the other 14 were from many different parts of Alaska. Only two were born on southern Kodiak, with four more in other Kodiak communities. The other eight women were born elsewhere in Alaska (2 in Aleut villages to the west).

From this it can be concluded that Old Harbor continues to be a mixed community. In 1975 there was a predominantly Native mix, with only one non-Native person married into the village. In 1985, the mix continues to involve Natives from other parts of Alaska, but also includes an increase in mixed marriages: a total of 9 of the marriages intact in 1985. (Former marriages and current alliances are not included in this count.) Non-Native persons who marry into a community comprise a different kind of resident than those who teach or temporarily work there; because of this, it is important for census accuracy to divide the non-Native population into either permanent, or temporary, residents. Some non-Natives have been married and lived in villages for a long time; there is little doubt they intend to stay there. Their interests and their descendants represent a category quite separate from the transient non-Native residents who see their stay as limited.

Single and Married distributions. Out of the Native population of 297, 157 residents were over 19 years old (53%). The following analysis addresses only this adult population. Slightly over half (55%) were married. Of the 43 couples, 34 were marriages of Native residents and 9 were mixed marriages. Two non-Native women married in, and 7 non-Native men married into the village. Of the 96 adult men over 19, 43 (45%) were married, and of the 61 adult women 43 (70%) were married. A few less than half (45%) of the adult residents were not married. Of these, 53 (75%) were single men and 18 (25%) were single women. The following summarizes the general age distribution of the single population of Old Harbor:

Single men	Total:	53	
Age:	20 - 34	22	(41%)
	35 - 64	30	(57%)
	65+	1	(2%)
Single women	Total:	18	
Age:	20 - 34	6	(33%)
	35 - 64	10	(56%)
	65+	2	(11%)

Some of the single individuals have been widowed (14) and others, divorced (8). This partly explains the large number of unmarried men (11) who lived in households with their unmarried children. Some had adult children living with them, while other men were raising their young children. In three households, widowed or divorced men had both children and grandchildren at home. (In one case a widowed grandmother had both children and grandchildren at home.) Of possible special significance is the number of widowers (5) and divorced men (6) who are heads of households that include minors. In the households of the men whose wives were deceased, three included both adult and minor children, 1 had only minor children and 2 included grandchildren. Of the 6 men whose wives were not present, five were raising minor children. As noted in other villages, this may be a growing phenomenon in rural Alaska.

Vital Statistics. The following information is derived from the vital statistics maintained by the State of Alaska. Between 1970 and the end of 1984, a total of 141 births were recorded for mothers with Old Harbor as their residence. That is 34% of all births for the six villages on the island. Between 1970 and the end of 1983 (a 14 year period), 130 births were recorded. Here is the information available for them.

	Total births	Age of Mother	% of total
	53	Under 20 years	41%
	63	21 - 30 years	48%
	14	31 - 40 years	11%
Total	130		

These numbers suggest a young age for many mothers. Most children (89% during this time span) were born to mothers under the age of 31. Death statistics indicate that Old Harbor has had 34% of the total recorded deaths for the 6 island villages. Between the years 1970 and 1984, a total of 48 deaths were recorded, out of 142 island-wide.

Finally, it appears that Old Harbor has had a higher percent of both in- and out-patient days at a hospital than is the case for the other villages. The Alaska Area Native Health Service report on inpatient and outpatient encounters by residence during fiscal year 1980 indicated that Old Harbor, with a 1980 Native population of 315 (33% of the Island villages total) recorded 375 inpatient days, or 53% of the village total. The Outpatient record is also high: 348, or 44% of the total for the Kodiak villages.

As noted in an earlier report (Davis and McNabb 1983:154-161), these statistics do not necessarily mean that the people of Old Harbor are ill more often than other villagers. Many other variables affect the figures, including the quality, training, acceptance, and kinship of the health aides. Weather, access to Kodiak, and record keeping can also influence the figures. In summary, whatever the range of causes, Old Harbor seems to have proportionally more births, more deaths, and more recorded patient days than the other island villages.

Miscellaneous elements. Earlier research, in 1975, by local assistants provided in the following information:

305 residents in 51 households
2 stores
Showhouse (movies)
Pool hall
Harbor facilities, with 20 boats moored
11 trucks
110 students, Head Start through 9th grade.

In 1985, our study provided some comparative data. For example:

337 residents in 93 households
2 stores
Restaurant
Harbor with 25 boats
13 trucks
3 cars
101 students, Kindergarten through 12th grade

In addition, the following count was made by the 1985 research assistants.

14 banyas (steam baths)
33 Hondas
78 dogs
16 cats
61 chickens
2 pet birds.

This count should be regularly up-dated. For example, with the opening of the third section of town, the vehicle count probably will increase.

Kinship

In the 1960's there were two major families in Old Harbor, the Kellys and the Ingas. At that time the living descendants of four Inga brothers totaled 67 persons, about 35% of the 1964 population. The descendents of Tim and Katherine Kelly included six daughters, a son, their 54 children and, at that time, 13 grandchildren. The Kelly sisters, their spouses, children and grandchildren totaled 77 persons, or 40% of the population of 193 (Davis 1971:172). These families are still present, and dominant in Old Harbor, but the overall population has diversified over the last 20 years as Natives from other villages, and some non-Natives, have moved to the village and married. For example, by 1975, at least 20 persons from two major families in Akhiok moved to the village. The 1985 census made for this report adds information about the range of places people came from originally.

Birthplaces. Any community of this size is likely to have residents who came from many different areas, but Old Harbor is unusual in the total number and diversity of the origins of its residents. For example, the non-Natives were born in California (5), Oregon (7), South Dakota (3), Colorado (2), and other states, including Minnesota, Montana, Wisconsin, Washington, Wyoming, Idaho, Arkansas, Alabama, Texas and Oklahoma. Some of the children of teachers were born in Alaska, including the towns of Kodiak, Soldotna and Kotzebue. In all, the non-Native residents were born in 14 different states. The birth places for 273 (92%) of the Native residents were determined by the research assistants. These individuals were born in 29 different Alaskan communities and 3 states. Because so many children are now born in Kodiak and Anchorage, the following figures do not exactly reflect the total numbers actually born to village families. However, the general distribution still provides an indication of the diversity.

Out of the total of 273 respondents, 78% (212) were born somewhere on the Island of Kodiak. In the immediate area, 30% gave their birth place either as Old Harbor (80); as the former cannery nearby, Shearwater (7); or as the abandoned village of Eagle Harbor (2). Moving south along the coast toward the end of the Island, 8% came from Kaguyak (5), Aiatalik (3), Akhiok (11), Alitak (3) or Olga Bay, Deadman's Bay and Lazy Bay. Only 1% were born in the western coast villages of Karluk (2) and Larsen Bay (1). To the North, one-third (90, mostly children) were born in Kodiak, with 1 in Ouzinkie and 4 at the abandoned village of Woody Island.

For those giving a birthplace elsewhere in Alaska, 36 were born in Anchorage, most likely at the ANS hospital. Eight were born in coastal villages to the west, such as King Cove (3), Chignik (1), Akutan (3) and Unga (1). Three came from the Bristol Bay area: Naknek (2) and Dillingham (1). One each was born in Fairbanks and in Fort Yukon. Finally, there were two from Yupik villages (Kwigillingok and Gambell) and two from Inupiat communities (White Mountain and Nome). Three were born Outside. This kind of diversity is especially consequential when considering the implications it could have for land claims issues, corporation decisions, and the quandaries surrounding a definition of "tribe."

Matrilineality. Some limited data suggests the traditional pattern of matrilineality was once widespread in the North Pacific area, and that it continues in modified form today. Nine households included collateral relatives. Eight of these were relatives one would expect to find in matrilineal households; for example, a brother, his sister and his sister's children. In another example, a man is raising his sister's son with his family. The relationship of a sister's son to a mother's brother is classic among matrilineal societies, and has been reported for both the Aleuts to the west and the Tlingets to the east. Additional evidence of its occurrence among this Koniag group is found in the example of the number of crew who work for their mother's brothers; or, in reverse, the number of boat owners who take their sister's sons out to train to be fishermen. Out of 5 boats for which data was gained, three of the owners included sister's sons on the crew. Finally, child raising practices in matrilineal societies tend to place considerable responsibility on a woman's brothers in the raising of her children. Larry Matfay, aged 77, said, "My uncle would just growl at me. Talk real hard to me." Another reference came from a mother who sent an only son to be trained to fish by his mother's brother rather than by his father.

The School

During the academic year 1984-85, The Old Harbor School had 101 students and 12 teachers (2 part-time). The teachers were Walt and Kate Loewen, Penny and Dennis Moore, Tom Shugak, Theresa and Craig Baker, Steve and Carol Steffensen, Dave Wilson, Jeanne and Paul Sorenson. In addition there were six support staff (see the section on Jobs in the Economic Organization discussion for details).

The Advisory School Board was composed of the following:

Olga Pestrikoff, Chairperson
Florence Pestrikoff, Sec.-Treasurer
Stella Stanley
Martha Peterson
Walt Erickson

Note that these individuals also filled other leadership positions in the village. For example, this list includes a health aide and church leader, restaurant manager, postmistress, store owner, three members of the traditional council, and one member on the city council.

The students were distributed in the following grades:

Kindergarten	10
Grade 1	10
Grade 2	8
Grade 3	6
Grade 4	14
Grade 5	5
Grade 6	11
Grade 7	7
Grade 8	7
Grade 9	10
Grade 10	4
Grade 11	5
Grade 12	4
Total	101

In summary, 64 were in elementary grades, 14 in junior high and 23 in high school. There were 44 boys and 57 girls. Of the 101 students, 8 were non-Native, children of the teachers and the missionaries. With 35 children under the age of 5, the school at Old Harbor is likely to continue to be the largest among the villages. As in many village schools, there was concern about students dropping out before graduation. All but one of the 1985 seniors had, reportedly, done so.

The school had a number of special programs, including hiring local experts to teach native skills like web making and Native games. The December 1984 issue of the school paper reported bowling and chess clubs had been started. Also in that issue were the Christmas wishes of 28 of the children. Some items desired that year included remote controlled cars (8), headphones (5), Barbie dolls (4), doll house (2), and cats (4). The school entered island-wide competition in four sports: boy's and girl's basketball, boy's and girl's cross country running, boy's wrestling and girl's volleyball. These tournaments involved as many as 12 trips and 3 regional meets between September 7 and March 23. The scheduled trips included 6 for the boy's and 5 for girl's basketball, 2 for cross country, 4 for wrestling, and 3 for volleyball. If a boy was active in all three sports, he could conceivably take 12 trips a year plus participate in 3 regionals if his team made it. A girl might participate in 9 trips, plus 3 regionals.

Needless to say, sports and the associated trips are a significant part of the school program. In addition to going to other communities, the Old Harbor school hosts teams from other villages. (A special swimming session in Kodiak was also in place in 1984). Not all the villages have a large enough student enrollment to participate. The scheduled events take place in Port Lions, Larsen Bay, Old Harbor and Kodiak. The maximum number of scheduled days away was 29 during the school year, but some of these were Saturdays, so the students were not supposed to miss that many instructional days. The total number of days involved, however, depended on the planes getting in and out on schedule. There is considerable disappointment when weather cancels anticipated travel. On the school calendar for 1984-85, there were 4 events identified that were not sports-related (other than vacations, tests, and the quarterly schedule of the beginning and end of school). Those four were the Christmas Music Program, the Spring Music Program, Prom and Graduation.

The Church

In 1984, Old Harbor celebrated the 200 year anniversary of the establishment of the Russian Orthodox church and of the community of Three Saints Bay. The church continues to be a significant institution in Old Harbor, the center of many services and activities. As documented earlier (Davis 1971), the church played an important role during the 1964 Earthquake-tsunami disaster. When the mayor, Sven Haakanson, was asked if he wished they had moved the village to Barling Bay after the Earthquake, his answer was, "No. The old people said if God wanted us to move, He would have taken the church like He did at Kaguyak." The fact that the church survived the waves with only water marks on the outside is recalled with awe and respect. Old Harbor maintains its position as a strong, orthodox village, with probably the most active village church in the North Pacific.

The field visits came just prior to the two most important church holidays, Christmas and Easter. Three services were attended by the researcher. On January 4, 1985, a priest and a seminarian from Kodiak were present to lead the service. About 50 people attended, ranging in age from the elders to babies. The church was clean and beautiful, the candlesticks polished; the building was obviously well-maintained. The church bell rang at 6:30 and the service lasted about 45 minutes. Afterwards many in attendance first went home to change into informal clothes and then returned to decorate the church for Orthodox Christmas. The parishioners, in a festive spirit, got out Christmas lights, tinsel, plastic poinsettias, and decorated the windows and candlesticks; they draped strands of tinsel around the room, transforming the church. The blue coverings were removed from the altars, and new coverings of yellow and gold were carefully ironed and placed on the tables and lecterns. The church was elegant after its preparation for this Christmas.

On March 23, 1985, another service was attended. About 20 people were present this time. The women met at the city council building afterwards to make paper flowers for Easter. The following Wednesday, March 26, a special service was held. Called "The Great Canon of St. Andrew of Crete," it was a long ritual that included kneeling and touching the head to the floor about 150 to 200 times. This service was attended by only about 10 people, perhaps for good reason - it is quite strenuous exercise. One of the readers said if the priest had been there, they would have done the whole service which includes the kneeling gesture 300 times.

Throughout Alaska, the Orthodox church has 84 parishes served by 30 ordained priests. In recent decades, there has been a revitalization of the institution. Part of the revival can be attributed to the seminary in Kodiak. Open about 12 years, it is one of three in the United States (Kodiak Daily Mirror, May 6, 1985). Priests and seminarians provide the villages with special services. In the 1960s, local leadership was provided primarily by elderly lay readers; now there are young readers, and women have an increasing role in church leadership. Services are conducted now in English, not Slavonic. Old Harbor used to be exclusively Orthodox, but in 1985 more religious diversity was reported than in years past. The verbal hostility toward the presence of a missionary family was quite overt on the part of some residents, but easing of tension was also reported. Part of the growing heterogeniety of Old Harbor is reflected by the presence of individuals belonging to other religions, including several Mormons. Although most positions of leadership in the village continued to be held by active Orthodox Church members, the traditional council included two women who had chosen other church affiliations.

Social Activities

Many activities took place at the school, especially in the gym, and at the church; in addition, bingo was played, except during Lent. The "P & L," or Martha's Restaurant, provided a social center, especially for young people. There was discussion of having a tavern and a pool hall added. In the meantime, television, video movies, riding bikes (3 wheelers), and visiting provided residents with alternative activities. Although drinking was recognized as a prevelant activity for some, many residents do not drink; and some that do, abstain during Lent.

Many meetings are held at the city council building--city council, traditional council, village corporation, and meetings called when various agency people come to town. For those who are interested, these are social events. For a period, beginning about 1983, a local Native dance group was organized. Sponsored by KANA, and under the leadership of Larry Matfay, the group performed in Fairbanks and on television during the summer of 1984. In 1985, however, the enthusiasm for attempting to revive, or borrow, from Yupik dances seemed to have waned. Old Harbor is a large enough community for considerable social activity. In 1984-85, it continued displaying its reputation as an out-going and friendly community, open to visitors, and interested in continuing the modernization processes.

Health

A modern health clinic is located in the city building. In the state's Alaska Village Health Clinic Survey (1982), it received a deficiency score of 6 on a point scale from 0 to 51 (a high score reflected an increasing need for structural improvement). Twenty six communities were ranked better, including Larsen Bay and Port Lions. Nine other communities had the same deficiency score of 6. And 71 villages scored higher, indicating a greater need for structural improvement at that time. Five people worked at the health clinic--a primary health aide, two alternates, a Community Health representative, and an alcohol counselor. In addition, health specialists from the KANA offices provide services both in Old Harbor, in other villages, and in the town of Kodiak.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The village of Old Harbor has long been politically active, serving as a leader among the villages of Kodiak Island. And, in 1985, the pace seemed quickened. During the first week of January, the village hosted a KANA-sponsored workshop on political economy and other issues, led by Russell Barsh. The first KANA board meeting to be held in a village followed the workshop.

Three major organizations are involved in local political life: the city council, the traditional council, and the village corporation. Old Harbor is trying to separate and clarify the spheres of influence of the three groups, and is working to coordinate their efforts. The relationships of these organizations both within the village, and with groups outside the community, are complex. The city has connections with the Kodiak Island Borough on some issues, and direct ties to the state of Alaska on Community Improvement Projects. The traditional council has some links with KANA and wishes to develop contacts more directly with federal funding sources. The village corporation is technically linked to Koniag, Inc., the Regional Corporation, and through Koniag to the Alaska Federation of Natives. However, because of difficulties with Koniag, the corporation works through KANA on some topics, and has taken an increasingly close look, along with the traditional council, at the United Tribes of Alaska.

A simplified diagram appears like this:

	State	Federal	AFN
Regional	Borough	KANA	Koniag
Village	City Council	Traditional Council	Village Corporation

Another way to visualize the separation of the groups is on the basis of the major topics they deal with--the city with facilities, the traditional council with political issues, and the corporation with land. It is not, however, this easy. All manage money, from various sources, and there is overlap between spheres. For example, there is dual interest between the traditional council and UTA on several issues. Because of Koniag's financial weakness, KANA has picked up some of the land matters. And clearly land usage and taxation are sensitive topics to the Borough. So while it is helpful to envision the groups as dealing with different topics, all three clusters share a common concern for the allocation of lands and funds.

Membership

A total of 14 different individuals serve in leadership positions for these three organizations; twelve of them live in the village. Two individuals serve on all three groups. Two serve on both the city council and the corporation, and one serves on both the traditional council and the corporation. The one man who serves on all three groups is also on the school advisory board and is the local representative to KANA. None of the city council members who are men were born in the village; they married in. Four on the traditional council originally were from other communities. Six on the corporation board were originally from Old Harbor, though 2 do not live there during the winter.

Analysis of the three organizations' 1985 membership suggests that the political power is greater for one major family and the economic influence is more concentrated for the other. The greatest influence, accompanied by extensive knowledge of village affairs, probably rests with one woman, the eldest of the large family that in 1964 represented 35% of the Old Harbor population. She and a brother-in-law serve on all three organizations. Another way to look at the distribution of power in the village is to consider how the fishing permit owners are represented. Four of the 7 city council members hold permits, 2 of the 8 traditional council, and five of the 8 corporation board have them.

There is an unusual uniformity of average age of the elected representatives. The city council had an average of 48 years. The youngest member is a non-Native, married into a significant family, while the oldest also serves as the president of the traditional council. The average age of the traditional council is 51 years. The oldest member of this group also serves on the village corporation board. Village corporation members have an average age of 48.

The City Council

Old Harbor was organized initially in 1966 as a fourth class city, and then in 1974 as a second class city. The council manages between $250,000 and $500,000 a year. The budget posted for 1985 was $471,000, with administrative costs of $131,000. The sorts of programs the council oversees are typical of rural Alaska today. Illustrations included weatherization projects involving the allocation of $300 each to 35 houses to be used for improvements, windows, insulation, and the like. The council chooses 3 or 4 houses a year to receive $2500 each for maintenance and improvements. The city also managed the state-funded $250,000 erosion project in 1984, receiving 15% for administration of the program. A water and sewer renovation was funded for $800,000 from both state and federal sources. Contracted by the PHS, it provided local employment, in contrast to the airport expansion feasibility plan (for $300,000) which employed only 2 local individuals, and these only for 2 weeks.

On January 1, 1985, a 3% sales tax was initiated. It was anticipated that the revenues would be used to maintain the water and sewer systems and be allocated as matching funds for other projects. In January the tax produced from Harold's store was about $440. Senior citizens and non-profit groups are not charged the tax.

Issues of concern to the city council as reflected in the agenda of their meeting of February 5, 1985 included, among other things, the fire siren, dock repair, the winterization project, bootlegging, computer training, and harbor fee collection. (In 1979, the question of opening a beer tavern "to curb bootlegging" was discussed by the council, perhaps a topic which resurfaces periodically. No decision had been made at the time of this report.)

The 1986 Fiscal Year request list for Old Harbor included the following:

		Thousands of dollars
1.	Airstrip relocation	$3,000.0
2.	Mini-Hydro	3,100.0
3.	Community Building	200.0
4.	Dock Repairs - Fuel Dock	800.0
5.	Fuel Tank Relocation	250.0
6.	Industry Research and Development	300.0

Also included on the list were items relating to a Minerals Study, Barling Road, and Tourism Development. The list reflects the priorities of the city council as of early 1985. Also at that time, the need for a branch bank, a mini-barge and small processing units to handle incidental fish off the larger fishing boats were topics of discussion. The City Council hosts public hearings in the village. An example of this happened on October 22, 1984. The question addressed was, "Shall the State Department of Fish and Game continue to seek return of marine mammal management?" Among other things, the hearing dealt with the management of 19 different species of marine mammals.

The Old Harbor Tribal Council

In 1985 the major focus of this group, technically the "Traditional Council of Old Harbor," appeared to have been the AFN 1991 resolutions. They were discussed on March 18, 1985 before the special AFN convention. Four members of the council had attended the regular AFN convention in October, 1985. On March 18, the Old Harbor Council voted to ratify Resolution 85-02, concerning the limitation of dissenters' rights to the transfer of land or other Native corporation assets to other entities. Further clarification was requested on the other resolutions. (Note that an AFN representative was present in the village less than a week later after the request.)

Members of the tribal council had been introduced to some new concepts in the fall of 1984, and again in January, 1985 during the KANA workshop. Certain of the terms still seemed "foreign" to some; as one resident declared, for example, "we are NOT tribal." The new concepts included the idea of removing land from state jurisdiction, requesting marine rights and "mining their own fish," and cashing out village and regional corporation lands through Congressional action. The idea that tribal government might have more power than city government, and that a local tribal council could receive or buy back corporation lands, were attractive concepts to some, and puzzling ones to others.

Old Harbor Village Corporation

The corporation, which had merged with Koniag on December 6, 1981, was demerged on January 27, 1984. This action came about through efforts initiated by Victor Peterson, who challenged the merger. After the corporation was reestablished a special shareholders meeting was held on June 3, 1984; seven directors were elected. On March 15, 1985, the village corporation distributed $120 per shareholder of ANCSA 7(i) moneys. The corporation owned about a 10% interest in the Afognak Joint Venture, which involved around 2,700 acres of timber land on Afognak Island. Instead of pursuing this venture, the Old Harbor directors decided to negotiate with Koncor, a company that included Ouzinkie Native Corp, Natives of Kodiak, Leisnoi, Inc., Chenega of the Chugach Region, and Yakutat of Sealaska. Koncor had been distributing dividends since 1978. The outcome was not determined at the time of this report.

Symbolic of the cautious position taken in 1985, the following quote is provided from the March 15, 1985 letter to the shareholders from Sven Haakanson, the village corporation president:

> In order to keep abreast of the impending 1991 issues the board of directors along with the Old Harbor Tribal Council have taken an active but cautious interest in the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) 1991 activities.

Native Land Allotments

On all of Kodiak Island, 249 individuals applied for Native allotments under the 1906 act; they filed on 539 parcels for a total of 32,227 acres. Out of this total, 93 (37%) of the individuals were from Old Harbor. The villagers filed on 215 parcels (40% of the total), for 13,316 acres (41% of the total). This is an indication of the active interest the local people took in the application process and may further signify the political activity of the village. In January 1985 there was concern expressed at the KANA board meetings that Koniag, Inc. might not be able to address the allotment process in the near term, and that perhaps KANA should undertake this responsibility. The BLM reported they had no immediate plans to address the applications on Kodiak Island.

ANCSA

Discussion of the topic, "How has the land claims changed life here?" showed a certain element of avoidance and reflected a sense of disillusionment. For example, "no change," "not get anything yet," and "many are disgusted with Koniag. They don't want to hear about it." Indeed, it was awkward for this researcher to pose the question, asked so successfully ten years earlier (see Davis 1976:69-70). On some ANCSA issues there was good reason for a desire to avoid their review; they were too painful, embarrassing, and as yet unresolved. One individual noted that Koniag had "lost their credibility and can't get funds." This person went on to explain efforts that had been made about 1979 to avoid conflict; he had urged the Koniag directors to continue meeting to work out differences. But the Board did not heed this advice, and in his eyes things subsequently got completely out of hand. Whatever one's perspective, there is no doubt that the litigation surrounding the village-regional corporation merger became extensive and destructive. Little wonder land claims was a sensitive issue in Old Harbor in 1985.

Sale of land was mentioned, even though not directly related to ANCSA issues. Three people had bought cannery land nearby and there was a question about what was going to be done with it. "If (they) sell the land, then (you will) see changes." One ANCSA amendment a local leader believed should be made would extend the land selection process until after the allotments had been made, so those acres would not have to be deducted from Native selections. The status of such a proposal was not ascertained.

Shareholder Addresses. Even though some ANCSA issues were sensitive, where enrollees to the Old Harbor village corporation report they lived turned out to be a relatively safe and interesting topic. Of the total of 323 shareholders on the Old Harbor list, 7 are identified as deceased and no addresses are available for 19. The following analysis is based on the 292 for which addresses are given. An unusually high percentage of shareholders were living in the village itself: 184 or 63% of the total. For Kodiak city, 26 addresses appeared. Eight enrollees lived in two other Island villages: Ouzinkie (7) and Karluk (1); so in all, 218 or 75% of the Old Harbor shareholders lived on Kodiak Island.

A total of 47 shareholders listed addresses in 15 other Alaskan communities, encompassing four other Native Regions. The largest number, 35 (68%), were living in Anchorage and the Upper Inlet area: Anchorage (21), Chugiak (6), Wasilla (2) and Palmer (3). Elsewhere in Cook Inlet, one each lived in Seldovia, Homer, and Kenai. Five addresses were in the Bristol Bay Region, although only one was in another of the villages of this study--Ivanof Bay. Three lived in King Salmon and 1 in Pedro Bay. Four addresses identify shareholders in the Aleutian Islands: Unalaska (3) and St. Paul (1). Finally, three lived in southeastern towns. Old Harbor enrollees also had addresses in 8 other states. Washington, Oregon and California claimed 14, over 50% of those Outside. Six live in Minnesota, 3 in Texas, 2 in New Mexico, and one each in Utah and in Hawaii.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Favorite Foods and Subsistence Activities

On March 24, 1805, the Russian scholar, Lisiansky, visited a village near the site of present-day Old Harbor and reported the whole community was out on the beach digging for shellfish that provided "the chief food during this season" (1814:173).

On March 27, 1964, the menus for 12 Old Harbor households (representing 104 persons) showed that four homes (36 persons) were preparing non-Native foods and eight households (68 persons) were preparing subsistence foods. The menus included roast duck, seaweed and wild spuds, sea lion, salted fish, salt fish soup and clam chowder (Davis 1971). During the field trip in March 1985 for this study, a small sample of 13 different meals served in 7 households (38 persons) indicated that local foods continue to be enjoyed, but the diversity has increased considerably with the introduction of purchased items. The local foods included fish patties, halibut, fried bread, piroke and black bass; other meals had chicken, spaghetti, macaroni, hot dogs, pork chops, and hamburgers.

Of the 7 households sampled, 5 had served subsistence foods to 28 of the 38 persons. One individual volunteered that she and her family were harvesting more local foods now than where she had grown up, but that overall most villagers were doing less. As in other places, the new villagers, whether formerly urban and returned to the village or non-Native residents, were reported to be more active in subsistence-related activities than many of the old-timers. Even though not prepared as much nowadays, the delicacies of the past are remembered. A former health aide described the treat of cod stomach stuffed with liver. A young non-Native was enthusiastic about seal and sea lion meat. At least one man was out hunting for seal on March 23, 1985, but, as one observer noted, "No one trapping in this area except the teachers."

Jobs

Discussing "What do you do in the winter?" often elicited a response that identified a person's job. (Other replies mentioned meetings, travel, bingo, "enjoying the food we put up in the summer," eating and sleeping.) Here are the jobs that were identified in 1985. The school hired 12 teachers, 10 full time and 2 half-time. Included was a Native teacher, Tom Shugak, for the 5th and 6th grades. Support staff at the school included 6 people, five of them local residents. Tony Azuyak worked full-time as Maintenance and Day-man; Walter Stanley was custodian and bus driver; Ralph Capjohn, custodian; Fran Shugak, Secretary and Elementary aide; and Phyllis Clough and Theresa Baker were elementary aides. In all, the school employed 6 local residents, 2 of them full time.

Other jobs were with the city, KANA, and the state:

Mayor	Sven Haakanson
Clerk/Treasurer	Annie Pestrikoff
Secretary	Janet Tunahan
Tribal Manager	Frank Peterson
Public Works Director	Arthur Haakanson
Maintenance	George Inga, Sr.
Maintenance Asst.	Wilfred Alexandroff, Sr.
Water Maintenance	Moses Larionoff
Sanitation	Thomas Chya
Sanitation substitute	Charles Andrewvitch
Janitors for city building	Wilma Berns Lillian McGraw
AVEC	Victor Peterson
Road & airstrip maintenance	Moses Larionoff
Village Public Safety	Mel Bonner
Community Health	Lee Bonner
Recreation Director	Ernie Berestoff Larry Tunahan
Family Activities	Olga Pestrikoff
Food Stamps Fee agent	Annie Pestrikoff
Primary health aide	Stella Stanley
Co-Primary health aide	Lydia Christiansen
Alternate health aide	Naomi Komahuk
Post Office	Florence Pestrikoff Polly Tunahan
ALASCOM	Paul Sorenson
Public Health Foreman	Chet Duke
PHS employees	5 local residents

Still other positions were with private businesses:

Harold's Store	Russell Fox
Walt's Store	Walter Erickson
Carl's Fuel Distribution	Victor Peterson Hans Peterson, asst.
Martha's Restaurant	5 employees

The erosion control program was undertaken during the fall of 1984. The project employed a total of 96 different adults, including several women. The positions were alternated among the residents so that anyone who wanted to work, could do so. During December, 70 people worked on 2 teams for a short time. One young man reported his pay was $1200 every two weeks. The pay scale for the erosion control project was:

$8 an hour, laborers
$9 an hour for two field foremen
$15 an hour for the project foreman

This particular venture, which was state-funded for $250,000, provided local employment for a 4 month period.

In the spring of 1985, the Public Health Service expanded and improved the water and sewer system. The director of the project was non-Native, but the 5 employees were from the village. The local workers were paid $10 an hour, $15 an hour overtime.

In all, in March, 1985, Native residents were employed in 43 different positions. Sixteen jobs were held by non-Native residents (11 of them teachers), of which 14 were full-time jobs. Most of rest of the 59 jobs identified above were part-time.

Local businesses

Local entrepreneurs have long operated in Old Harbor; consistent with custom, all local business were Native owned. In the 1960's, Raymond Kelly had a pool hall, Larry Matfay a theater, and the Shugaks operated a store. In 1985, in addition to the business of owning and running 25 private fishing boats, Old Harbor included 4 other private enterprises. They were Carl Christiansen's fuel distribution company, Harold Christiansen's store, Walter Erickson's store, and "P & L Enterprises" owned by the Petersons and Larionoffs. P & L operates "Martha's Restaurant," which opened on July 3, 1984. The menu listed the following items:

Hamburger	$3.75
Deluxe hamburger	4.50
Hot dog	1.50
French Fries	2.00
Pop	1.00
Coffee	.50
Nacho chips	2.50
Breakfast	8.00
Fish and chips	7.25
Clam strips	6.00
Homemade pie	1.50

The food goods (including clam strips and microwave popcorn) are ordered from Kraft's and Shelikof Net in Kodiak. State regulations (both health and fish and game) prohibit processing and serving local foods. Hours generally are 10 a.m. to 9 or 10 p.m. The restaurant is a social center, especially for young people. In May 1985 there were nine video machines, five of them operating (including "Super Zaxxon"), and the stereo was playing "Iron Maiden" by Power Slave. The restaurant's Rules announced:

> No chewing snuff.
> No fighting.
> No swearing.
> No hitting the machines.
> No messing around.
>
> If you do not obey these rules, you will
> be kicked out for two weeks, more or less.

Other local business activities were advertised at the restaurant. Hand-made pins sold for a dollar. A sign "See Martha for Amway Products" was drawn on a paper plate and posted. Tupperware was sold by Anna May Peterson. Also posted were notices from the city council. There is clearly local character to Martha's Restaurant. And good, homemade bakery goods.

Walter Erickson's store is next to the Restaurant. Walter is also on the City Council, the Tribal Council (President), the school advisory board, the KANA board, and he owns and operates a boat. In March, his store was low in stock because he was about to go the AFN meetings in Anchorage, and planned to close while he was gone. He intended to pick up more groceries on his way back a week later. The following are a few of his prices:

Coffee	$4.35 a lb.
Eggs	1.85 a doz.
Milk, canned	1.00 a can
Realfresh milk	1.95 a qt.
Peanut butter, 18 oz	2.75
Pilot bread, 22 oz.	2.35.

The best-selling item in March was frozen pizza which he had flown in.

The second and larger enterprise, "Harold's Store," is located about a fourth a mile from the downtown area, opposite the boat harbor. It used to be a "company store" owned by Columbia Wards. Harold Christiansen bought it a few years ago for $120,000. Last year his gross was about $340,000 and he reported he was breaking even--as well as paying off the capitalization by CW. In May, 1984, a young man from Oregon was hired to manage the store. Russell Fox had warehousing and other related experience. He had purchased an Apple computer and was in the process of programming it for the business. He lived at the store, and was obviously enjoying the challenge of the job. When he first arrived, there were 147 credit accounts; six months later the number had been cut down to 40. As an outsider, it had been easier for him to control who got how much credit. The proportion of credit to cash purchases was about 60% credit to 40% cash in May, 1984, which had been turned around to 30% credit to 70% cash by March 1985.

As in any village without a bank, the availability of cash is a problem. Post Offices usually cash checks, but a problem had developed transferring funds in the Kodiak bank, so the village post office could no longer accept large checks ($500 or $600). The store also could not handle large checks, so a limit of $300 was set. Analysis of the monthly flow of cash and credit through a village store would provide important understanding of small enterprises. As an indication of what is involved, consider that for Old Harbor the local manager reported that a slow day would involve about $500 worth of business, whereas a high day would be around $1000 worth. Highs fall usually within the first three days of the first week of the month. A normal flow is $700 to $900 a day.

In addition to local customers, the store had boat accounts. In Old Harbor, as in other villages of this study, the households with the higher incomes reportedly buy their groceries elsewhere (e.g., in Kodiak); the lower income families buy from the local stores. The following are examples of March 1985 prices in Harold's Store.

Nalley's chips	$2.00
Sailor Boy, 2#	3.30
Milk, quart	1.66
Can of milk	.92
Butter	3.23
Pop	.65 a can
Candy bar	.40
Eggs	1.55/doz.
Bread	1.75/loaf
Coffee, 3 lb.	10.97
Potatoes	.50/lb.
Pork	4.29/lb.
Ground beef	2.79/lb.
Cigarettes	1.10 a pack
Pampers, large, 40	15.95

Meats are packaged in Kodiak and have an automatic 35% mark-up. A high volume (or "hot" item) in 1985 was tortilla chips.

Another local business was being considered in the spring of 1985. P & L were discussing opening an auto-marine shop that would specialize in the repair of cars, trucks and boats. With many three-wheelers, trucks, and cars in the village, plus at least 25 local boats, as well as outboards, there is likely to be a market.

Local Costs

If a resident had HUD housing, the minimum payment was $83 a month if the bill was paid before the 15th of the month. Rent of downtown houses for the teachers was negotiated directly with the School District; the costs were between $400 and $500 a month.

One family of 6 figured groceries cost about $700 a month. Another family, with 7 members, ate mostly venison and fish for meat; they budgeted $300 to $400 a month for groceries. This household bought clothes from Sears Roebuck, and estimated regular monthly expenses to be an electricity bill of $40-$60, telephone between $30 and $100, and fuel consumption of about 100 to 150 gallons. In January, 1985 the cost of oil had gone down from $1.41 to $1.35 a gallon. Another household had just received their electric bill--for $79. They have 3 televisions, 2 freezers and lights for a 4 bedroom home. Some try to keep down costs by buying in quantity; one family bought case goods for cash at Shelikof Net in Kodiak; another bought food from Krafts and shipped it parcel rate by SeaAir. One man who had fished at least 40 years reported he used to stock up after fishing season, but he doesn't do that anymore (a pattern also found changed in other villages).

A fairly recent expense now found in a village is the purchase and maintenance of three-wheeled vehicles. A new 200 N Honda with an electric starter bought on sale in Kodiak cost $1703; added to this was $153 for transportation by charter plane to Old Harbor. In 1978, motorcycles were popular; in 1985, it was three-wheelers. There were at least 33 of the latter but only one operating motorcycle was reported. Also there were 13 trucks and 3 cars in the village in March 1985.

Commercial Fishing

Over the years, Old Harbor has diversified its fisheries (see discussion, Cultural Dynamics 1986). During our January 1985 visit, a few of the men were preparing their boats for the tanner crab season; in March, some were getting ready for herring season. However, when asked, "What do you do in the summer?", a discussion topic intended to elicit a discussion of fishing, the answer sometimes was, "I used to go fishing, but don't anymore." Some men with smaller, older boats were considering selling their permits, but want to hold out for a higher price. Others have found regular employment in local construction projects during the summer. One man who had fished for many years, stopped completely when his father died and his brother got the boat and permit. Some women who used to fish regularly with their husbands, now stay home and garden (a new summertime activity). Fishing may still be the predominant activity of Old Harbor men in the summer, but many other things are also going on. In addition to fishing, people referred to picnics, berrypicking, working on projects, the church sisterhood, and Fourth of July events.

On the first trip, a list of 15 boats and boat owners was drawn up; all but one owner were local residents. In March, a visit to the small boat harbor and discussion with a group of fishermen expanded the list to 25 permit and boat owners plus five permit holders who do not own boats. Altogether, 29 local residents were identified as holding permits, with 24 also owning or buying boats. One boat moored at Old Harbor was owned by a teacher in the town of Kodiak.

The condition of the boats varies greatly; some are old wooden cannery boats while others are modern 42-foot vessels ranging in value from $150,000 to $300,000. One young fisherman was negotiating the purchase of a new boat in 1985; he was looking at a cost of $250,000, with insurance of $8000 and annual payments of $39,000. One fisherman explained he pays for his boat with the crab fishery, and lives off what he earns with salmon. Others do it the other way around: paying for their boat with the salmon income and living off the crab earnings. In any case, to manage a boat with modern equipment is a complex, expensive enterprise.

Some men who own boats, arrange to lease a permit; or they may lease a boat to a permit holder. One man was planning to explore fishing to the westward, leasing a permit for 15% with the possibility of eventually buying it. A former Old Harbor school teacher bought a permit and a boat for, reportedly, $60,000 from a local man who has since died. The new owner continues to keep the boat in the village boat harbor. A local resident, discouraged with fishing, remarked, "I don't see no future in salmon." He had been offered $30,000 for his permit by an Outsider but is holding out for more. He hopes he can sell it to a Native Alaskan.

The nearest fish processing unit, owned by Columbia Ward, is at Alitak. The company was managed by the owner for many years, but since his death, it is said to be managed by a board of directors. Local impressions are that the former owner's son does not have as much influence over policy as his father did. The implications of this change were not explored, but a discussion was heard between two brothers as they anticipated the next season. One had been in Seattle and talked with the superintendent of CW who was expecting to open only one cannery, the one at Alitak. This possibility concerned the Old Harbor fishermen because such an action would encourage boats that fish the northern part of the island to move down to the Old Harbor/Akhiok grounds. In the eyes of the fishermen already "there is too much gear in the water," a comment also heard in Akhiok and Ouzinkie.

Crews

Some limited information about crews on five of the boats was obtained. One man, well established in a business in town, took out 7 kids during the summer of 1984 to give them some experience fishing. Another took two grandchildren and his sister's son. Another included his sister's son from Anchorage on his herring crew. One man was training his ten year old to be "skiff man." Finally, one man has been taking his sister's son fishing since he was eight years old. As the young man's mother noted, "He listens to his uncle!" The fact that out of 5 boat crews three included sister's sons supports the finding that the traditional role of the mother's brother in the training of their nephews continues to be a significant pattern in Old Harbor.

Crew shares were reported to range from 10%-12% for local men, but how much Outside fishermen get was not determined. The ten year old working with his father received 4 to 5% in 1984. One seasoned crewmember reported his best year was in 1978 when he earned a gross of $32,000. This brief review of boats, permits and crews suggests much more extensive study should be undertaken if any future OCS lease sale in the area is planned. Old Harbor holds more permits and boats than any other village on the island.

Outdoor Recreation and Sportsmen

The oldest man in Old Harbor, Larry Matfay, has been a bear guide for many years. In 1984, with the assistance of several grandsons, he took out three groups of hunters, four persons at a time. One of the groups came from Hawaii, and the other two from the East coast. At least one of the grandsons has the position of "assistant guide" and has worked since 1981 with Lee Hancock, an established guide in both the Nabesna and Kodiak areas. There has been some discussion of getting into the business of a lodge and expanding the guiding, but local resistance is perceived to be too great at this time. Although bear guiding is a tradition for this one family, expanding to include deer hunting is a different matter.

Indeed, certain villagers believe it has been the encroachment of deer hunters "that's been causing problems." One man reported he saw a boat nearby with 11 deer on deck. Someone else heard Larsen Bay had 90 hunters last year. Even one of the bear guide assistants said, "There's too many deer hunters." In 1985 there was talk about posting notices along the coast in an attempt to discourage the intrusions into Old Harbor territory. One had a sense that perhaps the village was establishing a reputation that would discourage hunters on the southern end of the Island. Perhaps the villagers were hoping to redirect them to the opposite side of the island where resistance was less militant.

For tourists, there had been some discussion about establishing an Aleut-Russian village at the original Three Saints Bay site, but nothing immediate was planned. One leader expressed the local perspective on tourism, outdoor recreation, and expanded sportsmen's facilities:

> Right now, we are not ready for it.

SUMMARY

Changes in Old Harbor

The current description of Old Harbor reveals that much has obviously happened in the village in recent years. "What kinds of changes have been going on here?" was a discussion topic designed to tap into the perceptions of these alterations. The inquiry was open-ended, allowing whatever range of reactions the people were willing to report.

Positive and negative responses were evenly split. Five residents referred mostly to good things they thought had happened, and 5 spoke about unpleasant changes. The positive replies included references to the improvement of the school, the fine principal, and local demand for education for the village youngsters that is comparable to bigger systems. The boat harbor, garbage service, water system, telephones, volleyball and travel were also cited. "Mail every day" and the increase in access to Kodiak were perceived as beneficial. And one response included reference to an increased ability to manage money; people were "more cautious, now they have phone, electricity, oil and groceries bills." Finally among the good changes, a lessening of tension around religious issues was noted.

Negative changes involved increases in crime, "can't leave anything in your skiff, and kids breaking into the school and the church," "more drinking," "not enough work," "nothing for the kids to do after school," and "too many cars." In a special category of response, one of the older villagers commented, as might be expected, that things are changing too fast.

> People can't help each other any more. In the old days they would see someone down on the beach and help them roll up the drum or whatever. Now they want money. Their parents just leave the kids alone. In the old days, they would sit down and talk with them.

A question was asked about the role of uncles in the old days. Cited in the section on Social Organization are references to the role of the maternal uncle that further suggest the matrilineality of the area, reported earlier (Davis 1971). If, in traditional times, the mother's brother played an important role in the raising of his sister's children, and if today there is local interest in revitalizing selected aspects of traditional culture, then emphasizing the uncle's role might be one pattern that could assist the village. The pattern could be used in a number of creative ways. For example, uncles could add support to the parents who are raising children in changing times; by taking on some disciplinary responsibilities the uncles might allow the fathers to be the "good guys," as they were traditionally; and restoring the pattern could give responsibility to the many single men who happen to be uncles to many local children.

Village Values

What people say they like about living in a village can capture their sense of values. In Old Harbor, people reported they liked the peacefulness, good hunting, the people, the variety of things to do. As one council member stated--and he has had considerable experience elsewhere:

> Its an easy life (here). No hassles. We are really fortunate. People other places are going hungry. No jobs. Here we know everybody.

His wife, however, wasn't particularly happy that day with the inevitable constraints of living in a small village. She was ready for a trip to town. Part of understanding rural communities involves discerning what leads non-Natives to come, and in some cases marry and stay, in a village. One must consider how these individuals make a successful adaptation to the local lifestyle. One young non-Native man, married and father of a young son, was especially enthusiastic about the virtues of living in Old Harbor; he may be one of the most active in traditional subsistence activities.

> This is Paradise City. Hunting, fishing and going out in the skiff.

OCS and the Future

In 1978, the village of Old Harbor was found to be interested in the possible development of oil and gas nearby (Davis 1979:92). The residents were open and amenable to discussion of the alternatives. They saw a contribution to the community in potential jobs, and they viewed positively the development of local facilities to serve exploration and development needs. The village continues to be forward-looking and open in its outlook, but without high expectations. By the time of the field visit, the 1986 lease sale had been postponed; besides, other issues were far more important. Nevertheless, here is a sense of the local perspective in 1985.

A question was posed asking about local interest "if oil or gas was found around here." Some responses were, "It's a good thing - if it is off our land," "It would be good for some people," "If they were trained and there was good money, the men would work," and "It would benefit statewide, but rarely would anyone here get jobs." There was little interest in leaving the village "to go to a job somewhere else." Answers to a question about this possibility included, "If I could take my family" and "If I had to." Given the earlier data on the outmigration of people to Kodiak and Anchorage, it may be that those individuals and families who would be most interested in leaving for work, have already done so. As one leader, established on both councils, noted in reference to the men who had left to get training at the Seward Skill Training Center:

> The way the fishing is going now, they might as well do that.

When considering the future, it can be insightful to look at the past. The village council minutes for December 6, 1979 record a discussion concerning capital improvement projects planned with the state oil revenues. The plans included a boat harbor, airport, electrification, police, housing, a jail, police car, a library and civil defense. By 1985 Old Harbor had acquired all these improvements, and more. Yet there still was no local industry other than commercial fishing, which, though declining, continued to mark this village as one of the most affluent in the area. At the same 1979 council meeting it was noted that the Kodiak Island Borough was continuing to denounce oil development. This suggests that perhaps strong communities like Old Harbor can risk taking positions despite governmental opposition. Further, in a case like this village, it may be a part of local tradition to do so.

Ouzinkie

INTRODUCTION

Ouzinkie is the closest village, geographically, to the town of Kodiak. In spite of being located only 14 air miles from the city, the residents sometimes feel overlooked. They expressed the attitude that more attention, and funds, appear to go to other villages. There may be some historic support to this perspective. A similar point of view was found in 1965 when the author first visited the village, soon after the 1964 earthquake and tsunami. The cannery, the store, two homes, and two local men had been lost in the disaster. Ouzinkie felt overlooked with the establishment of Port Lions and related disaster relief efforts. To the villagers it seemed other communities, such as Afognak, had been the recipients of more services and support. By 1979, however, Ouzinkie was clearly catching up with respect to facilities. Roads, housing, a new school and health clinic were being introduced simultaneously, and later an extensive airstrip was built.

Field Visit

The field visit, though short, was productive. It lasted from the afternoon of December 16 to the morning of December 18, 1984. At the time, it was expected that a second trip would be taken to follow-up on data gathering. Also anticipated was the hiring of research assistants for a village census in 1985. However, when the Kodiak lease sale was cancelled, the research emphasis shifted to the Alaska Peninsula coastal villages, and the census was not taken until the first week in January 1986; it is described in the Demography section, below.

In December 1984 a total of 9 focused discussions were held. Included were the KANA representative; the president of the tribal council; the mayor of the city council; the president, land manager, and secretary of the village corporation; 3 fishermen; and 2 housewives. (There is some overlap of positions.) These 9 individuals, 3 women and 6 men, represented about 13% of the households in Ouzinkie in 1984. The number of people represented in these households was 38, about 18% of the current population. Working with a map that marked the houses, one of the villagers made a list of the households and their residents. From this, 208 people in 68 households were identified, although some lived in the village only part of the year.

One of the fishermen listed the boats and boat and permit owners. Another fisherman reviewed the list, and identified those who are buying permits, leasing permits, and buying and leasing boats. Ownership of boats and permits appeared to be flux at the time (December 1984). The timing of the visit was soon after the annual village corporation shareholders meeting, and just before the Christmas holidays. Christmas lights were up and festivities imminent. As in other villages, both American and Orthodox Christmas would be celebrated.

References

Information about the village can be found in several sources. For a review of previous studies, consult Davis (1979:93-100). Dowl Engineering prepared the village profile (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1981). As he did for other places, Kozely completed a BIA community study (Kozely 1963). A Harbor Study is available (Alaska Department of Transportation and Public Facilities 1982), as is a Comprehensive Plan for Ouzinkie (Kodiak Island Borough 1984). For a narrative and analysis of the 1964 tsunami and earthquake, consult Norton and Haas (1970:355-381).

History

The following dates, drawn from various documents cited in the references above, provide a chronological sequence of events for Ouzinkie.

1817	Father Herman established a Mission School.
1889	Royal Packing Company established a cannery.
1890	Russian Orthodox Church built. Census reported 21 houses in 2 villages.
1896	Baptist Mission established.
1915	Some cannery buildings constructed.
1927	Post office established.
1933	School built.
1935	Grimes built Grimes Packing Company.
1947	First recorded attempt to form a council.
1950	First council elected. Mike Chernikoff, village president.
1963	No record of a council operating, but of a 5-man committee, led by Herman Anderson.
1964	March 27--Great Alaska Earthquake and Tsunami.
1966	Two houses built (BIA funds). Water and Sewer system installed.
1968	Fourth class city established Ouzinkie Seafoods built.
1972	Second Class City established.
1975	ASHA houses built.
1976	Ouzinkie Seafoods burned.
1977	Sanitary Land fill installed.
1978	Water and sewer system upgraded.
1979	23 HUD houses constructed; Roads built.
1980	Electrical system, installed village-wide. Mission closed.
1981	Health Clinic building opened; sanitation facilities completed; television installed. 10 HUD houses constructed; 53 homes occupied.
1982	Telephones installed.
1983	Airstrip constructed.

Information gathered in 1986 indicated the following existed in the village: 29 three-wheelers, 6 trucks, 14 boats, 23 skiffs, 1 2-wheel bike, 34 dogs, 26 cats, 11 birds, 10 chickens, 15 tropical fish, 2 rabbits and 2 turtles.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Demography

The population, as recorded in census figures, has fluctuated over the years. The variations reflect, among other things, the coming and going of the canneries, the impacts of natural disasters, and the local availability of jobs.

The following figures, from U.S. Census sources unless otherwise indicated, show the changes:

Year	Number of residents
1880	45
1890	74
1920	96
1930	168
1940	253
1950	177
1960	214
1970	160
1980	173
1982	233*
1984	208**
1985	165***

*Kodiak Island Borough figure
**Informal count, December 16, 1984
***Census by local assistants, January 1986

Part of the decrease between 1960 and 1970 can be explained by the earthquake and tsunami in 1964 that led to the outmigration of some families, primarily to Kodiak city.

Between January 5 and January 9, 1986 a house-to-house survey was completed by 2 local residents who were advised on the method and format by mail and telephone. Using the same techniques employed in the other communities, including maps and numbering, the assistants documented residency at midwinter. They obtained household information including birthplaces, birthdates, and the number of vehicles. With their data, the information about Ouzinkie becomes as comparable as possible with the findings from the other villages.

Households. As already indicated, in November 1984 a knowledgeable resident identified 68 households in the community. These houses were usually inhabited by about 208 persons, although some were occupied only part-time. The 1986 count suggested the population had declined further. At that time only 54 houses were occupied by 165 residents. However, two outlying areas, Pleasant Harbor and Eskimo Point, were not included in the 1986 count. These two nearby areas encompassed 7 households and approximately 17 persons, including three monks from California who were building a monastery.

The following analysis addresses the 165 residents in the village proper, and is based on the data gathered by the two research assistant hired in 1986. The residents were distributed in the following way:

Number of residents	Number of households	Total persons
1	11	11
2	11	22
3	11	33
4	13	52
5	4	20
6	2	12
7	1	7
8	1	8
Totals	54	165

Of the 165 individuals, 20 were non-Native; 145 were Native. Of the 54 households, 4 were occupied by non-Natives, 44 by Natives, and 6 by couples of mixed marriages (2 non-Native men married in and 4 non-Native women married in). The average age of the 20 non-Natives was 31. The male-female ratio was 35:65 for the non-Native population; 56:44 for the Native population, and 53:45 for the total population.

Kozely's census in 1963 reported 200 residents living in 44 households, an average of 4.5 per household. By 1986 this average had decreased to 3 per household. Most of the marriages recorded by Kozely were endogamous, or with residents from Afognak. Now the diversity of marriages has increased; only 8 of 27 Native couples were endogamous and 18 were exogamous. Eight men had married into the village; they were from Chignik, Uyak, Karluk, Kodiak, Little Afognak, and the states of Washington and California. The ten women who married local men came from Tatitlek, Sand Point, Bethel, Barrow, Kizuyak, and the states of Washington, Missouri, Alabama and Texas.

Of the 50 Native and mixed households, a total of 19 (38%) comprised nuclear families and two (4%) included three generations. Eleven households had single persons living in them, nine of them single men (whose average age was 57). Analysis of ages revealed 6 single men younger than 30 lived with parents (5) or a brother (1). In January, 1986, there were 29 single men; 54% of the adult males (54). There were 16 unmarried women, or 41% of the 39 females. Altogether, there were 45 single adults in a population of 93 adult Natives (eight of whom were over 65).

The population of Ouzinkie is older than the other villages of this study: 35% (58) under 20 years and 65% (107) over 20. The analysis of birthdates revealed that 10 (5 men and 5 women) of Ouzinkie's 145 Natives were 74 years old, or older. The average age of these elders was 81; the men were born in Afognak (3) and Little Afognak (2), and the women were born in Ouzinkie (2), Afognak (1) Woody Island (1), and Katmai (1). The eldest woman, Katherine Noya Ellanak, was born in 1902 at Katmai, on the Alaska Peninsula. Her husband, Larry Ellanak, was born in 1894 at Afognak. Before moving to Ouzinkie, they lived in Karluk for many years, where he was the lay reader in the Russian Orthodox Church. He provided leadership and training for Olga Panamaroff who continues the church tradition at Karluk.

In all, Natives were born in 19 different places, including Ouzinkie (47), Kodiak (61), Afognak (6), Karluk (6), Chignik (3), and Little Afognak (2). The 20 Non-Natives were born in 11 different states and 1 foreign country (West Germany)

There are old, established kinship links between Port Lions (Afognak) and Ouzinkie. These connections continue a pattern noted previously (Davis 1979). However, there were no young people born in Afognak or Port Lions who in 1986 lived in Ouzinkie. Rather the trend may be for Ouzinkie families to move to Port Lions. For example, in 1984 Peter and Mary Squartsoff had 13 children and 34 grandchildren. Of these, 2 sons, 3 daughters and their families (12 grandchildren) lived in Ouzinkie and 3 sons and their families (5 grandchildren) lived in Port Lions.

Vital Statistics. In the vital statistics maintained by the state it appears that Ouzinkie accounts for a lower percentage of births and deaths than other Kodiak Island villages. Between 1970 and the end of 1984, a total of 59 births to Ouzinkie mothers were recorded. That is 14% of the total for the island villages. Ouzinkie also accounts for a relatively low percent of the deaths. Between 1970 and the end of 1984, a total 13 (9%) of the village deaths were from this community. The age of the mothers who gave birth between 1970 and the end of 1983 was as follows (data were not available for the 4 births in 1984):

Less than 20 years old	8	(15%)
21-30 years old	39	(71%)
31 - 40	7	(13%)
41 - 50	1	(2%)
Total	55	

In relative proportion, Ouzinkie's population included a fewer young children, more elders, and more unmarried adults than characteristic of other villages in the study area.

The Churches

Two churches of different denominations have co-existed in Ouzinkie for a long period of time. The village continues as a strong Russian Orthodox community, while the Baptist church has also been present since 1896. Joyce and Norman Smith, who were missionaries with the Baptist church from 1952 until the mission was closed in 1980, continue to live in the community and provide many diverse services. For example, Mrs. Smith is the primary health aide. The mission building is the facility for the preschool program, and rooms are offered there for visitors to the village. Mr. Smith provides services to the city by operating the fuel delivery system, to the school by delivering mail, and to the store by transporting freight when the barge comes in. The Smiths continue to hold services in the mission building which they have purchased.

The Russian Church is housed in one of the oldest and most famous buildings on Spruce Island. The Church's long tradition was symbolized by the canonization of Father Herman. The congregation continues its services under the leadership of the elder Ellanak and younger laity. The tension yet symbiotic relationship between the two churches may be a part of the local tradition and way of life. Ouzinkie and Port Lions are the only communities in the area where two churches have been active and co-existent for a long time.

The School

The BIA built a school in 1933. A new building, where school is presently located, was constructed in 1972, with a major addition in 1980. The old building was converted into city offices.

In 1963, the school had 39 elementary students; five youth were away for high school. The total number of children in the village at that time was 108 (Kozely 1963).

In 1984, the number of children enrolled altogether was 65. In an early childhood program for infants and toddlers there were 12; preschool and kindergarten had 10; and for grades 1 through 10, there were 43 in class, distributed as follows:

Grade 1	5	Grade 6	4
Grade 2	4	Grade 7	2
Grade 3	7	Grade 8	2
Grade 4	2	Grade 9	5
Grade 5	8	Grade 10	4
		Total	43

The teachers during the academic year 1984-85 included Charles and Linda Coons, who had been at the school 5 years, and Ron and Pat Gibbs. In addition, six local persons provided support services on a part-time basis as teacher aides. The Ouzinkie school is the only one in the study area which is closely surrounded by magnificent spruce trees.

Health

A new clinic building was constructed in 1981. The following information is derived from public health service records for 1980. Of the 708 in-patient days for Kodiak Island village residents during the year 1980, Ouzinkie accounted for 100, or 14%. Given the Native population that year of 163, or 17% of the village population total, this suggests a lower inpatient ratio than other villages, but higher than some. The outpatient days for 1980 was 157 days out of a village total of 799. The Outpatient days were slightly higher than the ratio of village population (17%).

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

When Kozely, the BIA economist, visited Ouzinkie in September 1963, he found no council operating, and no one designated "chief." He did find papers that indicated an attempt to form a council in 1947. By 1950 a first council had been elected. The officers then were:

Village Council President: Mike Chernikoff
Secretary: Tim Panamarioff
Members: Julian Muller
Philip Katelnikoff
Alice Panamarioff

On September 11, 1963, most likely on the recommendation and under the leadership of Kozely, a "committee" was elected. It included Herman Anderson, Julian Muller, Fred Chernikoff and Zack Chichenoff. Kozely reported there was a discussion about "whether to organize under the Alaska State statutes, as an Indian village, or to resubmit a request for a federal charter under the IRA" (Kozely 1963:30). Later the village organized as a 2nd class city (which incidentally has instigated a 3% sales tax). After the 1964 Earthquake, the residents had a difficult time organizing to make the many village-wide decisions that had to be resolved. One of their first actions was to "blue ticket" (arrange to send out of the village) a white woman whose attitude the villagers found condescending and offensive.

According to the village profiles (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1981) by the early 1980s Ouzinkie had a city and a tribal council, with three individuals serving on both. Both councils were headed by men who had married into the village, a pattern found elsewhere in the North Pacific Davis 1971; 1979). At the start of 1984 the two councils had 4 overlapping members. Two of these were local residents (i.e., had lived in the village most of their lives, though born elsewhere) and two were men who had moved into the village more recently. Later in the year, there was an election, and in August, there were 3 overlapping members. Both the city mayor and the tribal president had military experience outside the community, another pattern found elsewhere in Alaska (Davis and McNabb 1983).

One village woman held seven positions in 1984. These were secretary of the village Native corporation, vice chair of KANA, vice chair of the Kodiak Island Housing Authority, and member of the school board, tribal council, housing committee and parent committee. In 1985 she was elected to the Koniag, Inc. board of directors. She has since moved to Soldotna.

Village Corporation

In 1985, the Ouzinkie corporation had several activities underway at the village level; as a consequence it was more visible than any other Kodiak Island village corporation. For example, the corporation owns the dock, the fuel distribution company, and the building that houses the local store, the storekeeper's apartment and the corporation offices. Three local people were employed by the corporation. Unlike the other Koniag villages, Ouzinkie shareholders chose not to merge with the regional corporation in 1981. The benefits of merger were not convincing and the shareholders had earlier developed some feelings of distrust for Koniag's undertakings. Although spared the legal costs consequent to the merger, the corporation has faced other expenses. Among these were fees associated with gaining title to their land, and the costs of dealing with persons allegedly squatting on Native land at Eskimo Point. The latter is a difficult situation that has been going on at least since 1979.

A company, KONCOR, was incorporated in 1975 to specialize in timber management. The initials stand for Kodiak-Ouzinkie Native Corporation. The group has since added partners from other regions, including Yakutat from Sealaska and Chenega from Chugach. In addition, Lesnoi (one of the unlisted Kodiak villages that appealed the merger) has joined, and Old Harbor was discussing investing in KONCOR in 1985.

ANCSA and Land Issues

Shareholder locations.

A total of 357 different individuals were enrolled to Ouzinkie. Of these, at least 3 have died, and 29 have no known addresses. Of the 325 people with known locations, a total of 40.9% (133) were living in the village itself. Another 26.2% (69) were living in Kodiak City. Six individuals had moved to other Kodiak villages: Karluk (1), Old Harbor (2) and Port Lions (3) (none had addresses in the Chigniks). In other Alaskan communities, 9.5% (31) could be found. Their addresses were in 5 different villages: in the North Pacific, Tatitlek (2), Cordova (1), Seldovia (4) and Homer (1); and in the Calista Region, Mountain Village (1). The greatest regional concentration was in Cook Inlet (27).

About 26.5% (86) were Outside Alaska. The largest number of addresses were in the three western states, especially Washington (38) and California (9). In addition 11 other states are represented: Wisconsin (10), Texas (8), Montana (6), Massachusetts (4), Ohio (2), Wyoming (3), and one each in Oregon, Florida, Indiana, Louisiana, Nebraska, and Pennsylvania. Comparison of the 1985 with the 1978 address list revealed few changes, with considerable continuity of residential location. Of greatest interest was the stability of the relative percentage of addresses in Ouzinkie and Kodiak. Also important was the addition of 2 new Kodiak and 1 Chugach village as locations of shareholders.

There was only a slight increase in the total number of those with addresses Outside. However, the enrollees who live outside have either moved around in the last six years, or different ones have come and gone from Alaska. Five states were found on the 1985 list that were not represented in 1978; whereas 6 states that appear on the 1978 list are missing on the 1985 list. It would be important to determine whether these are Koniag moving about Outside, or shareholders moving in and out of Alaska.

Land Claims Effects

Ouzinkie has moved a long way since 1963 when Kozely found the village politically unorganized. In 1984, the community apparently had the most successful village corporation on Kodiak Island. But this change has not come smoothly. Responses, in the focused discussions, to the topic, "How has the land claims changed life here?" provided some insights into the local perspective on the sensitive issues surrounding ANCSA.

One non-shareholder resident replied, "I think it probably hasn't changed much. People think the corporation's got it and don't share. I get that feeling. The corporation officers are the only ones that are going to get anything." The newly elected president of the corporation paused, then answered, "Five years from now--then ask. Because then you will begin to see the changes because of taxation. We must actively develop." The problem of trespass was mentioned by several different individuals. Typical was, "Outsiders have tried to come in." A sore point was the continuing legal complications with the Eskimo Point residents. A new complication was developing with the trespass of Natives on other Natives' lands. It has become increasingly difficult for indigenous residents to build cabins, and use them, in a manner that used to be acceptable. A similar concern was expressed in nearby Port Lions. Here Natives were said to be using other Natives' property to accommodate Outsiders for hunting trips.

A local fisherman, a family man, at first responded, "I don't know. I stay out of it." And then he added, (its) "the biggest mistake they ever did. It's a joke. All the land is going to go; it's going to be sold." Finally, one of the village women--a wife, mother and grandmother--said simply and forcefully, "I don't pay any attention to it." For her, the land claims was not a topic to be discussed. Ouzinkie villagers imparted a range of attitudes similar to those found elsewhere. Expressed were denial, indifference, and hope; frustration over legal problems and trespass; and a dismay over future taxation.

Native Allotments

Twenty-four different individuals have applied for 46 separate native allotment parcels. These filings encompass 2,594 acres. Of the total at least two parcels have been conveyed; following the settlement, they were offered for sale by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on behalf of the Native owner. He was an elder who was the village council president in 1950. The reported asking price for one parcel, which included tidewater frontage with a dock, ramp and boathouse, was $40,000. The second, a 5.53 acre piece of waterfront property, was appraised at $5000. The bid opening for this sale was scheduled for April 8, 1985. Of the 9,352 cases filed statewide with the BLM, only about 1,400 had been closed as of March 29, 1985. It is unusual for an allotment to be conveyed, and subsequently to reach the point of sale. In this respect Ouzinkie also seems to be unusual.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Subsistence and Favorite Foods

Because of the short time in the village, exploration of the residents' subsistence activities was limited to a discussion session on, "What is your favorite food?" Even without additional follow-up discussion, the responses provided insights into the local practices. A teacher spontaneously volunteered, "We are big subsistence eaters!" This reply is consistent with a pattern of enthusiastic subsistence use reported by non-Natives elsewhere in coastal villages. Two Native men said their favorite food was beef; cattle used to be raised and butchered at Ouzinkie. (In Chignik Lake, several people from Afognak commented they grew up on beef becasue their father raised cattle.)

Other specific items mentioned as favorites were prawns, halibut, pickled herring, smoked salmon, duck, and Mexican butter. One man, who was recognized as one of the most active harvesters of local resources, estimated that 30% of his family's meat came from subsistence sources. Another local leader replied after some hesitancy that his favorite food was fish--it was almost as if he were expected, as a leader, to say "fish." Subsistence is, after all, a highly political issue in Alaska in the 1980s. He candidly added, "My wife likes it better than I do. That (fish) is all we ever ate and I had too much of it. Dad had a lot of bad luck."

Commercial Fishing

In 1963, there were 46 men between the ages of 20 and 50 who were identified as fishermen out of Ouzinkie; they ran a total of 19 boats (Kozely 1963). The unit price for salmon then was:

Reds	$.97	Silvers	.86
Pinks	.44	Kings	2.75
Chums	.60		

Most of the fishermens' earnings came from pinks; the average for purse seiners in 1962 was $21,540.33 (Kozely 1963:31). The 1962 pack of salmon processed by the Ouzinkie Packing Company was 54,632 cases, estimated as 7% to 8% of the total Kodiak district pack. At that time Ouzinkie fishermen were paid 9 cents a pound for crab. For this fishery, 10,200 cases weighing 244,800 lbs were processed (Kozely 1963:32). With this historic background, one can better understand the impact on the village of the destruction of the local cannery by the tsunami in 1964, and the continuing disruption when it was never rebuilt.

In 1984, Ouzinkie fishermen (winter village residents) ran 11 boats; they held 12 state limited entry salmon fishing permits. The operators and their boats included:

Gene Anderson	"Colleen Sue"
Floyd Anderson	"Little Tiger"
Martha Anderson	"Miss Alaska"
Sonny Anderson	"Ripple"
Mike Boskofsky	
Zack Chichenoff	"Faith"

Donny Muller	"Judy M"
Bobby Muller	
David Opheim	"Eliza Ellen"
James Skonberg	"Lorena Marie"
Carl Smith	"Eagle Cape"
Freddy Squartsoff	"Sophia Kay"
Theodore Squartsoff	"Ironside"

Some of the boats are owned locally, others are leased from Port Bailey. In a few cases, one individual owns the boat and a relative, the permit. The ownership patterns are complicated, and field time did not allow for an extensive exploration of the complexities. Five of the boats were kept at Ouzinkie, one in nearby Opheim Cove, one in Kodiak, and the rest at Port Bailey. Ouzinkie has a dock that could berth up to 5 boats at a time. A feasibility study for a harbor was completed in 1982. The 1984 Kodiak Island Borough comprehensive plan for the village identified the first priority as a breakwater/small boat harbor/barge landing facility. The troubles faced by Ouzinkie fishermen, however, involved more than the lack of a local processing plant and harbor facilities. As early as 1979, Ouzinkie residents were experiencing difficulties with the limited entry permit system; by 1984 the situation was worse. It was reported that as many as four permit owners were considering selling within a year or two.

A case history. One fisherman, long committed to the industry, expressed discouragement with the continuing struggle to survive. He spoke of the new costs, the intensity of the competition, and what he perceived to be the greedy methods that have developed among the boat owners; as he observed, "It's a different breed of fishermen now."

The discussion with this man was so honest and insightful that details are provided here as a short case history of the troubles facing fishermen today. First, here is an outline of his seasonal cycle. In December he prepares for tanner crab harvesting. In 1985, the season was scheduled to start on January 15th and was expected to last, at most, two or three weeks. For crab, he leases a boat every year; he pays the owner 35% for the vessel. He has some gear, but not enough. The boat has 45 crab pots, and he adds 70 pots of his own. He also takes this leased boat herring fishing with his brother in April and May. Earnings from this fishery go towards paying the winter bills. Salmon fishing starts about June 1. For this our fisherman uses his own seine boat. However, because he doesn't own a holding skiff, which costs about $10,000, the fish he gets by seining have to be handled four times. First he harvests reds, then humpies, then dog salmon. Fall fishing brings in the silvers.

He used to fish for halibut, but is seriously considering getting out of that fishery. The gear is expensive, and the season short. "Everything is going to the big boats." Until two years ago he regularly went out to get halibut for the whole village, especially during lent when most residents are fasting and do not eat meat. He would distribute the halibut throughout the village, but says he's now scared to do this. "I would go to jail if I got caught."

With this seasonal cycle as backdrop, what are the hurdles this fisherman must overcome? He must keep up with boat payments, insurance premiums, and the costs of maintaining and replacing gear. In 1983, his adjusted gross income was $300; in 1984 it was closer to $10,000. These earnings were so discouraging he decided to buy a gill net permit from his brother, who has moved to another village and is getting out of fishing entirely. The gill net permit cost $65,000 ($108,000 with interest). In 1984, he was able to make the payment on the permit and stock up groceries for his family. But it was clearly a time of transition for him. He was contemplating quitting purse seining and concentrating on gill netting. One appealing aspect of this is that he can do it with his family, and without the difficulties of hiring, training, and managing an unpredictable crew. He is debating whether to keep his purse seine permit, in case one of his young children may someday want to fish. When the limited entry system was first introduced, this man thought that young people would be able to accrue points over time, and that they would eventually be eligible for a permit. But obviously it has not worked out that way and now he is disgusted with the system. "Only the guy with the dollars can get a permit these days."

The plight of this individual is mirrored in the reports of others. Several fishermen said they were thinking about selling their boats and permits. One revealed the cost to maintain his boat is $8000 a year, his payment, $3000. His boat can't handle halibut gear; to adapt it he would need at least 10 skates and hooks which cost $100 each. But the season is too short to make the investment worth the expenses. This man's sons are not interested in fishing. Another fisherman is buying a permit, but finds it a difficult arrangement to manage financially. For many the limited entry idea is not working out. It is illegal to lease a permit, but you can buy one for one dollar and then make arrangements to pay a percentage to the former owner. There are risks for both sides, including that the former owner may want the permit back and may not be able to get it. One man gave his permit to his brother. Another gave his permit to his eldest son; a younger son fishes with his brother on their father's boat. One father commented that, after 40 years of fishing, it was difficult to see the boats go out, and not be on yours.

Crews. In 1963, a crew of four shared 63% of the earnings from a catch and the boat owner got 37% (Kozely 1963). In 1984, crew shares were in flux. One established crew member stated he got 14%; another individual crewed on a boat leased from Port Bailey for a 12½% share and paid 25% of the food. One women took three trips with her brother and earned a 12½% share. Another fisherman reported, "You can pay as little as 3-4% for someone who wants to learn." Several boat operators said their biggest problem was with crews. As one discouraged fisherman reflected, "You train a good guy, teach him, and then something happens." In one summer, one man was shot, another committed suicide, and a third drank. One response to crew difficulties and to the changing economics that have led to altered crew shares, it was suggested, is that more women are entering the fisheries.

Cannery Policies. In addition to boat, permit and crew problems, fishermen were faced with canneries that were changing their policies about credit and leasing boats. Talk among the residents was that Columbia Wards was selling all their boats for $2000 down and 2% above prime rate for the loan for the remainder; reportedly the loan had to be paid off in five years. One fisherman said he would no longer deal with Columbia Wards; he characterized himself as independent. He noted that if a boat operator accepted the cannery's credit, then he was committed to selling all his catch to them. This particular individual no longer wanted to operate under that condition. It was alleged by others that the cannery would not extend credit for fuel purchases anymore. Another man reported he had to vouch for his crew if they asked for even as little as $100 credit. The old established patron-client relationships between a processor and the fishermen were obviously changed. With all these reported difficulties, it is perhaps surprising that anyone fishes out of the village anymore. Yet, the data indicates they do, and they gain what appear to be impressive incomes (Cultural Dynamics 1986). Possibly a local tradition of viewing, and talking, about the more negative dimensions of life makes the difficulties appear to a visitor as more difficult than they really are; perhaps things are not as gloomy as reported.

Jobs

Clearly there are some options to fishing. The following is a list of the jobs and, in some cases, the names of who held them in 1984:

School	4 teachers 6 support staff
Village Corporation	President, Andy Anderson Land Manager, John Panamarioff Secretary, Rita Opheim
Mark It Store	Mr and Mrs. Quick
Gift Shop	Marie Chernikoff Skonberg
City Offices:	Mayor, Zack Chichenoff Clerk, Debra Gardener Light Plant, Paul Delgado Water and sewer, Cliff Panamarioff Librarian, Angeline Anderson Custodian, Alma Rice

Tribal Council Employees:
- Clerk: Katherine Panamarioff
- Community health aide: Joyce Smith
- Alternate health aide: Rosemary Squartsoff
- Community Health representative: Sonja Delgado
- Senior Citizen Cook: Anna Pestrikoff
- Recreation Director: Peter Chichenoff
- Pre-School teacher: Georgia Smith
- Family Activity Leader: Patricia Ambrosia

Village Public Safety Officer: Alex Ambrosia
Telephone Maintenance: Wally Shuravloff
Post Office: Martha Delgado

A variety of services were provided on a part-time basis for the city, the school, and the corporation by Norman Smith.

Here are some examples of wages paid in this village.

$12 an hour for labor and carpentry.

Substituting at the school, $50/day.

Teacher aides receive current school district rates: depending on experience, these range from $8.37 to $17.96/hr.

Custodians at the school: $11.60 to 22.57/hr.

Work at the store, $6 an hour.

Monthly salaries at the city offices:
$800 for the mayor.
$900 for the clerk.
$1000 for the power plant manager and water supervisor.
$200 for the custodian.

Tribal council employees were paid through KANA.

In summary, there were more than 30 paying jobs available in Ouzinkie in 1984. This is a significant increase from the 9 reported for 1978 (Davis 1979:96), and the 21 reported in 1981 in the village profile (Dowl 1981). Although only a few of the jobs were full time positions, the total number indicates a diversification of the local economy. Note these are all service positions; unlike fishing, none produces a specific marketable product beyond the village.

Local Businesses

In 1963, the Ouzinkie Packing Company operated a cannery and a trading company, and a local resident operated a sawmill. In 1984, the village corporation owned the dock, a building, and the fuel delivery business. Mark It Stores, which is based in Kodiak city, opened a store in 1979. Also new was a locally owned gift shop.

The Mark It Store's credit limit was $300 each family or account; boat accounts were kept separately. About 40 accounts had credit lines in December 1984. Those who do not have an account pay cash, or go to Kodiak for their supplies. The store's sales were up in 1981-82, down in 1983, and up slightly in 1984, but not as high as the previous level. A percentage of the gross goes as a rental payment to the Native Corporation, which leases the lower floor of its two storey building to the store. Posted in the Ouzinkie store was a three page list of foods prepared by the Mark It office in Kodiak city and dated October 31, 1984. At the bottom of the list was a summary of comparative costs with the following totals (the first four stores are located in the town of Kodiak):

Mark It Foods	$206.49
Waldo's	217.57
City Market	219.29
Kraft's	228.10
Ouzinkie	$223.88

Some popular items in Ouzinkie were Spam, corned beef and canned milk. A few prices were noted, for example:

Milk, canned	$ .75 a can
Coffee, Folgers	3.10 a lb.
Pilot bread	2.95
Eggs	1.49
Apples	1.20

Some other prices included $1.22/gallon for fuel oil, down from the $1.38 reported in 1981. Electricity costs noted for two homes were $60 a month (30 cents a KWH). Water and sewer charges ranged from $10 to $12. Rent for the teachers went from $300 to $500/mo. The minimum monthly payment for a HUD house was $98; the maximum payment was $700 a month, made by a family whose payment was based on a North Slope income for the head of the household and the fact they wanted to pay off the house as quickly as possible. A lot sold for $900 a few years ago; a more recent cost was $1500 for a city lot.

Capital Improvement Projects

The following is a list of some of the local projects funded by the state:

		$ M
1979	School	$1,001.0
1980	School	100.0
1981	Airport	657.9
1982	Waste heat project	700.0
	Fire engine	90.0
	Erosion control	100.0
	Harbor study	25.0
	Airport	2,220.0
	Road equipment	205.0
1983	Fire station	100.0
1984	Generator	60.0
1985	Community center	129.13
	Water & sewer upgrade	150.0

The Comprehensive Development Plan for Ouzinkie prepared by Norgaard Consultants (Kodiak Island Borough 1984) identified 9 priority projects. The first three were a breakwater/small boat harbor/barge landing, an electricity distribution line, and a sanitary landfill site and incinerator. A statement of goals follows this list (1984:47-55).

Outdoor Recreation and Sportsmen

Kozely reported in 1963 that 2 or 3 hunting guides operated out of Ouzinkie, taking their clients to Afognak Island (1963:25). The 1984 Comprehensive plan includes reference to providing facilities for day-visitors from Kodiak city (1984:65), but five of six people asked about a local tourism industry indicated they were not interested in it.

> I don't want to see people here.
>
> Tourism doesn't bring in enough money to the local economy.

Reference was made to charter boats that occasionally come in, but they are not particularly appreciated by the residents. Some villagers objected especially to visitors who take pictures of only the old delapidated houses. But one person was somewhat supportive of tourists, stating, "They are going to come now, so (we) might as well get some local dollars (out of them)." Port Lions seems to have developed the market for active guiding. Several Ouzinkie families who are moving out of fishing and into the guiding business appear to have been drawn there. There is no question the scenery, and the village site, is spectacular, but in 1984 there seemed to be little active interest in marketing Ouzinkie to visitors.

VILLAGE VALUES

Local Perception of Change

In the focused discussion about the kinds of changes that had been going on in Ouzinkie, three positive comments and six negative remarks were recorded. The positive changes all referred to facilities. Included were the telephones, television, lights on all night, roads, housing, the health clinic, fire station, fire truck, airstrip, high school, fuel truck delivery and street lights. A teacher especially noted an increased social awareness resulting from television. In addition, he thinks the children are looking away from fishing and toward other vocations. It was not clear whether this shift was perceived as basically "good" or "bad," but the context implied that it was a good change, indeed perhaps inevitable.

Negative responses centered on a series of social woes. A general deterioration of social and physical health was noted by one long time resident. Regulations and the increased pressures from the Kodiak city residents for access to subsistence resources were lamented. One independent Native man stated "I hate that food stamps. They (the villagers) get so dependent on them. Before you had to salt salmon and really work, and now they're lazy." A ferry stop, scheduled to begin in 1985, was anticipated with ambivalence, particularly because it was feared it would bring a lot of junk cars to the community. Three-wheelers were mentioned several times, especially a dislike of them. Indeed, they are frightening as they race at night down the new, but unmaintained roads. A near accident was witnessed by the researcher when a 3-wheeler raced across the new airstrip just a few feet ahead of and a few seconds before a plane landed on the same spot.

Related to events like this was the older villagers' views of "young people: too much spare time, getting into trouble, drinking. They don't have money, but they share their booze." Finally was the observation of one woman who saw both good change (less drinking now) and bad change (less money). Now, she noted, the scarce money has to go to things other than liquor, a good change.

Related to local values and the perception of change was the inquiry, "What do you like about living here?" Several villagers emphasized the good hunting and fishing, and native food. Three mentioned the freedom of living in Ouzinkie, although one added, "But the borough runs us, and they tell us what to do," and another volunteered right away, "I don't like the improvements." Another good feature about Ouzinkie was, "Not too far from Kodiak." This advantage has its opposite in the problem of Kodiak city visitors and tourists coming to the village. Particularly bothersome was the difficulty of sharing scarce subsistence resources. On the other hand, being close to Kodiak city, and having a local outlet, makes it easier to obtain purchased foods. That some Native people prefer store-bought foods when they can afford them is clear from this study. Some people really do get tired of fish and venison, and given a choice prefer access to the foods available in the larger world. These goods are well advertised on the recently introduced television broadcasts and are increasingly available in the local store.

Overall there seems to have been consistency in Ouzinkie over the last 20 years. On the one hand, a concern about too much drinking and a theme of social malaise have recurred during all three visits by the field researcher, in 1965, 1979, and 1984. On the other hand, people continue to prefer to live in Ouzinkie. A teacher noted he liked the relaxing pace of village life; perhaps this is what both Natives and non-Natives share in their preference for life in a small community. Part of the tradition of living in small villages may include complaining about certain aspects of the lifestyle, yet still preferring it to any other alternative.

OCS Development and the Future

Two parts of the discussion sessions addressed local attitudes towards OCS development and potential jobs. Two individuals responded they thought oil and gas development would be a bad thing. For example, "That is a bad subject," and "We got the lease sale 46 delayed. We didn't want oil around here, not because its not good, but this is fishing country." At the same time, comments from the opposite point of view, supporting potential OCS development, were offered in full recognition of what was happening in the fisheries.

> With the fishing the way it is now, I feel it wouldn't be a bad thing. It (the attitude towards development) has changed because of fishing. There's no price on salmon and no crab. There's not likely to be any bottomfish either.

A discussion with the village corporation employees gave a similar impression.

> The younger generation, my age, would be willing to go, accept it, if there are benefits, if impact is minimum.
>
> It's more acceptable now. Since the salmon slump.

As discussion continued, other elements were mentioned that make potential OCS activities attractive. Halibut fishing is down. Gear is expensive. Limited entry has ruined things. Young men can't get permits or boats. At the same time, there was not a great deal of interest expressed in leaving the village for work elsewhere. "If I had to, I would (go)." "No, not unless I am driven out by all the drunks," confessed another. One older person said he was not at all interested. He had already left the village two times to make a living to raise his family; he wanted to stay home now. Comments like these highlight the importance of considering life-cycle events when estimating the appeal of employment beyond the village. This man was a young grandfather. He, like Inupiat grandfathers of Kivalina, (Davis 1983: 90), wanted to stay home for this portion of his life.

In summary, the village of Ouzinkie has its own historic and traditional character, which includes an older population, many unmarried residents, a preference for fishing, an adaptation to local jobs, and a reluctance toward actions that would involve more outsiders. Kozely's writings in 1963 implied a concern that Ouzinkie had no civic club, no meeting place, no active political organization. Times have changed, and so has the village, but there still appears to be an underlying hesitaucy to adopt these kinds of conventions. This hesitance seems coupled with a subtle, pessimistic outlook. Perhaps this is the way the people of Ouzinkie want to be, as well as how they wish to be seen. Those who find such an outlook incompatible may have chosen to leave.

Port Lions

INTRODUCTION

Port Lions is the most modernized, ethnically mixed, and complex village in the study area. The community is located on the north end of the Island at Settler's Cove, about 20 miles from the City of Kodiak. In 1964, most of the Afognak residents were relocated at this new site. Their village had been partly inundated by the tsunami following the 1964 Great Alaska Earthquake; wells were contaminated, some houses lost and others moved off their foundations. It was, however, with some reluctance the villagers abandoned the Afognak site, and even today fond memories of the former location remain. Some families return to old Afognak for picnics and camping in the summer. Over the two decades since the Earthquake, the new village of Port Lions has thrived. In 1985 Port Lions had a recently improved and modern airstrip, located about 1.6 miles away and linked by a road to the village. It had two docks and harbors--the old cannery dock, and a new small boat harbor completed in 1984 with a capacity for 98 boats.

There were at this time 19 resident purse seine permit owners and 18 boats. Local businesses were located on lots along the beach front: two stores, two lodges, and a cafe. Also located in the main part of town were two active churches, a new school, modern health clinic, a post office, community hall, city offices and a library. Houses were dispersed in three major sections. First was the original townsite from 1964 that included 7 houses built by the Lions International, 44 houses built by the BIA, plus other homes constructed independently. Second was a section of 23 HUD houses located up a small hill, behind the original village, about 1/3 of a mile from the beach. Third were 14 homes (mostly 12 HUD houses) built on a peninsula of land partly encircling Settler's Cove, and connected to the main part of the town by a new road and a causeway nearly ½ mile long (2100 feet).

The community is criss-crossed with gravel roads, maintained by the city. An additional 4.2 miles of road, maintained by the state, extends in part in one direction outward to the airstrip and small boat harbor and in part around the end of the Cove in the other direction. Consistent with a preference for a view of the sea brought from the original Afognak site, many trees have been cut down to provide a greater sense of openness.

A complete count of the residents could not be accomplished for this project; however, as accurate a one as possible was completed by local research assistants. This effort determined that in January 1986 there were 77 occupied houses, 8 families out of town (21 people), and a total of 243 residents. For those for whom data was available, 117 were males and 106 females; 150 Natives and 73 non-Natives. Of the 77 households, 15 were occupied by non-Natives, 44 were Native, and 18 were mixed homes. These figures were reasonably close to those in the last city census.

References

Because Pt. Lions is so young, few references to it as a community are available. A review of earlier reports can be found in Davis (1979:100-104). New sources since this review are Chaffin, Krieger and Rostad (1983:163-169); the village profile prepared by Dowl Engineers (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1981); and the comprehensive development plan (Environmental Science and Engineering, Inc. 1982). A document that provides some historical depth for the area is Huggins' description of a visit to the village of Afognak in 1869 (Huggins 1947); see the History section below for a brief recounting of this visit.

Field Trip and Village Census

Seven trucks were parked at the airstrip on December 13, 1984 when N. Davis arrived late in the day. The presence of so many trucks had several explanations. People had come out to meet their relatives who were arriving for the holidays; included in this group were five young men returning home from college. Also an increased volume of mail was anticipated. Besides, the airstrip is one of the few places you can drive to in Port Lions.

Data gathering was undertaken during a three day visit, December 13-16, 1984. A total of 29 individuals contributed to the process. Included were the mayor, city clerk, two current council members, two former council members, tribal president, health aide, store manager, school principal, lodge operator, harbormaster, cafe owner, five permit holders, three crew members, and several elders. As in any small community, there was overlap of some positions. Nine of the focused discussions involved a total of 10 people. They included 3 men and 7 women; 3 non-Native residents (2 women, 1 man); and 7 Native residents. Two exceptionally insightful and informative discussions were held with two fishermen. The quality of their knowledge and experience is reflected in the analysis of fishing activities.

At the time of the 1984 field research visit, it was anticipated that a return trip to Port Lions would provide the opportunity to hire and train research assistants to complete a village household census. However, after the Department of the Interior postponed the Kodiak and Shumagin OCS lease sales, it was decided this study should place more emphasis on the Chignik area. As a result, because time and resources were necessarily reallocated to the Peninsula villages, follow-up trips to Port Lions and Ouzinkie were not taken.

However, in order to provide comparative data with the other villages in the study area, Cultural Dynamics hired 3 local residents to get the same information gathered elsewhere. After receiving telephone and written instructions, the research assistants took a household census. The results are in the Demographic section of this chapter, with some limited information on the school, churches and health presented in those sections. This part of the research effort was accomplished between January 17-20, 1986.

History

As noted above, the community has been located at Port Lions only since 1964; prior to that time it was on Afognak Island. Historic continuity therefore comes through the former village. The scarce historical materials that are available indicate there was a long-standing tradition of separating Russian/creole and Native inhabitants. From the time of the first records up to the 1964 Earthquake, there was an Aleut village and a Creole village, both sharing a church. The physical separation however did not necessarily mean that social distinctions were maintained. From the early 19th century introduction of retired and pensioned Russian-American employees, their wives, and children, through the later settlement of Scandinavians, to today's non-Native residents, Port Lions has been a culturally and ethnically mixed community.

The following is a brief outline of a few known historic events related to the Afognak area.

Early 1800	Rutkovsky was a "Russian and creole" community of retired and pensioned Russian-American Company employees established near a Native village. Later the two villages are jointly called "Afognak."
1823	Father Inakenti visits.
1869	June. Visit by E.L. Huggins, First Lieutenant in the U. S. Army, stationed at Kodiak.
1889	Two canneries built, operated for 2 years, then closed.
1891	North American Commercial Company trading post.
1893	Royal Packing Company and Russian-American Packing Company merged with Alaska Packing Company.
	Orthodox Church clergy:
1896	Nicholas Kashevarov.
1900	Vasily Martysh
1906	Alexis Petelin
1918	Gerasim Schmaltz
1929	Elk herd introduced to the island from the state of Washington.
1964	March 27. Great Alaska Earthquake and Tsunami. Portions of the village flooded, area subsided, 8 houses destroyed.
	April 4. Lions International offers to relocate the village.
	April 7. Village agrees to move.
	April 11. Relocation site checked. Council elected. Decision to move to Settlers Cove.
	April 12. Visit by BIA and Lions representatives. Formal Resolution adopted to relocate and call the new village Port Lions.
	May 12. Construction begins at new site.
	December. People move from Afognak to Port Lions.

1966	Organized as a fourth class city.
1976	Health Clinic renovated.
1979	Solid waste landfill and High School built.
1982	Airport improvements undertaken; 35 new housing units constructed.
1984	Small boat harbor completed.

Here are some excerpts that Lieutenant Huggins wrote about his visit to Afognak in 1869.

> The largest village is thirty-six miles from Kadiak harbor ... A mile and a half from this native village is a settlement of Russian half-breeds or "free creoles.".... The first settlers were a few runaway sailors from a Russian ship, and the story of their adventures, as I heard it, is as romantic as that of the Pitcairn Islanders, though, possibly, not quite so authentic.... the garrison at Kadiak...depended in great part upon the "free people" of Afognak for fresh meats, potatoes, and other produce (1947:133).
>
> At the time of my visit to Afognak, the people were engaged in building a new church, the one in use being too small, as well as badly decayed and out of repair. The site was about midway between the creole and native villages, so as to serve them both (Huggins 1947:138).

References to agricultural activities, including the raising of beef and vegetables, and to notable skill as carpenters appear in this and other early writings about Afognak. A contemporary preference for beef expressed by some residents and a continuing pride in carpentry reflects the persistence of these earlier patterns. In addition to the unusual mix of full Russians, creoles, and indigenous Natives in the 19th century, Afognak appears distinctive in another way: the inhabitants were not as involved in the canneries, nor did they experience the intense invasion of late 19th century cannery workers, as occurred for example in the Karluk area. Instead, as Bean noted in his 1891 report on the salmon industry:

> At Afognak many of the natives are employed about the canneries as carpenters. They are engaged, also, in making boats of various kinds and their labor in this direction is appreciated (Bean 1891:206).

Two canneries were built at Afognak in 1889, by the Royal Packing Company and the Russian American Packing Company. Although the fisheries were flourishing on the western and southern coasts of Kodiak Island during this period of the 19th century, apparently the salmon industry did poorly on the north end. The Afognak plants operated only two years. The fish caught the third year, 1891, were processed in Karluk. By 1893, the two Afognak canneries were merged with Alaska Packing Association (Moser 1899:51). As noted by Taylor

(1966), there was a migration of some Afognak people to Karluk; one of the elders in Karluk in 1985, Herman Malutin, Sr. was born in Afognak. Though the links are much weaker now than earlier in the century, genealogies and local knowledge still reflect the former connections.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Demography

Census data shows that the population of Afognak/Port Lions decreased from 339 at the time of the first official census in 1880 to 197 in 1939. Since then the numbers reported are:

1939	197
1950	158
1960	190
1970	227
1980	215
1984	291*
1985	274**

* Kodiak Island Borough figure, December 6, 1984
** City of Port Lions figure, December 20, 1985

At any one time, some residents will be out of town--for visits, school, health or work--therefore it is extremely difficult to obtain an absolutely accurate count. City records for December 1985 indicated 79 occupied houses, 41 vacant city-owned lots, and 37 privately-owned lots (some of which had unoccupied houses on them). Four households were identified as out of town.

As explained above, the village census for this study was undertaken between January 17-20, 1986. The remainder of this demographic analysis is based on the household data gathered by the research assistants at that time. Our January 1986 count provided the following figures:

77 occupied houses
8 households out of town (total of 21 persons)
243 residents present

Of the 77 occupied households, 15 were non-Native, 44 were Native, and 18 were mixed, i.e., at least one adult was Native and one non-Native. Five of the Native households did not participate in the count, but the number of residents was known (20) and is included in the following part of the analysis; these households do not appear, however, in the age distribution in the Appendix or in the vehicle totals.

The distribution of the number of people in households was:

Number in HH	Total Households	Number of Residents
1	11	11
2	16	32
3	15	45
4	22	88
5	12	60
6	--	--
7	1	7
Totals	77	243

The average number of people per home was 3.2. A total of 127 lived in the 44 Native households (2.9 average); 53 in the 15 non-Native homes (3.5 average); and 63 in the 18 mixed households (3.5). Of these, 45 (58%) were in nuclear families, i.e., two generations (a married couple and children); 5 (6%) included a woman and her children, and 1 (1%) a man and his children. Only one house included three generations, and only 1 included a collateral relative (a man's brother).

There were 25 single adults: 4 (14%) of the non-Native men, 15 (33%) of the Native men, and 6 (12%) of the Native women. As in Ouzinkie, the older single Native men lived in single person homes. Of the 8 over 35 years old, 6 were born in Afognak (their average age was 59). Six young men lived in their parents' home, as did 2 women in their twenties. Of the 13 Native marriages in which at least one spouse was from a local family, 4 were endogamous (e.g., an Afognak male married to an Afognak female); and nine were exogamous. In five cases, men from other villages (Ouzinkie, Kodiak, Old Harbor, Unga and Zachar Bay) married local women, and in four cases, Ouzinkie women married local men. Unfortunately, these data will have less significance over time for understanding social networks, because birthplaces are increasingly reported in non-village locations such as Kodiak or Anchorage.

There are more mixed marriages (17) in Port Lions than in the other villages of the study area. Seven non-Native women married local men, and 10 non-Native men married local women. The women were born in Alaska and 3 other different states; and the men in Alaska and 7 different states. Also, note that of the 63 persons in the 18 mixed households, 28 (44%) were under 15 years of age, with 15 (24%) under five. In all, of the 29 Port Lions children under 5, 15 (52%) lived in the mixed households, and of the 47 children under 15 years of age, 28 (60%) lived in the mixed households. Clearly, these marriages accounted for a high proportion of the young population. Because the blood quantum of the Native spouse in the mixed marriages could not be determined for this study, it was difficult to decide how to count the children. For this research, the children of the mixed marriages were counted as Native.

Of the 223 residents for which we have ages, 91 (41%) were under 20 and 132 (59%) over 20 years of age. Birthplaces varied. Natives residents were born in Afognak (32), Port Lions (9), Kodiak city (62), other Kodiak Island villages (12), and 9 other Alaskan communities including Chignik (2), King Cove (1), Unga (1), Dillingham (1), Anchorage (13), Seward (2), Seldovia (2), Soldotna (1) and Cordova (1). Finally, 12 were born in 3 other states. Non-Native residents hailed from 19 different states and 5 Alaskan communities.

Kinship

The major social link between Port Lions and Ouzinkie is reflected in marriage relationships and the recent migration of several families to Port Lions. Few ties extend to the southern villages, though one elder, John Pestrikoff, is the son of a woman born in Kaguyak. One of the ancestors of a major family was born in Katmai, on the Alaska Peninsula. Presumably, they would be linked to people living in Perryville and Ivanof Bay. Here, as elsewhere, the ties across to the mainland were stronger at the beginning of the century than they appear to be now. However, some current connections indicate the links across Shelikof Strait continue. A visitor from King Cove came to the village to see her sister; she also has 2 brothers in Old Harbor. Two families, the Suydams from the Chignik area, moved to Port Lions in recent years. Finally, there were two brothers and a sister from Afognak/Port Lions living in Chignik Lake in 1985.

Families tended to be large in the generation now age 50 and older. One woman had 16 children; another, 11; and a third, 7 children. A beginning analysis of the location of these children and their families suggests that the women tended to move from the village at marriage. However, this was not always the case. For example, one woman (from a family of 4 sisters and 7 brothers) remained in Port Lions. She was the only daughter to do so and she inherited the house of her mother's mother's brother (a great uncle on the maternal side.) Also, if there is the trend to return, some daughters now living elsewhere may come back later in their lives. It is important to mesh the case histories of families and their life cycles with the cycles of village history.

Here is additional data gathered by the research assistants from 72 households (not counting the five homes not participating). In January 1986 Port Lions had:

52	trucks	4	bicycles
15	cars	1	motorcycle
3	vans	2	snowmachines
50	three wheelers	1	tractor
3	four wheelers		

Finally, the pet population of Port Lions included: 51 dogs, 23 cats, 10 birds, 13 fish, 4 frogs, 1 rabbit, 1 turtle, 19 chickens and 6 hamsters.

The School

In the fall of 1984, enrollment in the local school (kindergarten through 12th grade) was 77 students; 23 of them were in the 4-year high school. There were 8 teachers and 8 other local employees. Five of the support staff positions were part-time, three full-time. The latter were six hours daily and the former generally three hours daily. The highest paid positions were the custodian, who had been with the school for 12 years, and the secretary-teacher aide who had worked there for 10 years. The principal-teacher was Bill Biehl. He identified the following sequence of activities for a day at the school (the list is for Friday, December 14, 1984).

1. Ran dogs off the playground
2. Lectured to the kids about dogs.
3. Santa Claus came (in a helicopter).
4. Made the payroll.
5. Taught a class.
6. Played janitor by cleaning up the debris in the gym after Santa Claus departed.
7. Taught a class.
8. Counselled some students.
9. Talked with a parent at noon.
10. Discussed work with a researcher.
11. Administrative duties after school hours.
12. Supervised basketball practice with the high school boys.

A number of the parents in the community attended school at Mt. Edgecumbe, and they spoke of their high standards for the local school, and for their children. Out of a Port Lions graduating class of 9 in 1984, seven went on to higher education in the fall of that year (five to Seattle).

Health

In 1980, Port Lions had 215 residents, 158 (73%) of them Native and thus eligible for Indian Health Service. The 158 Natives represented 17% of the Kodiak village Native population reported for that year. Alaska Native Health Service records indicate that 15% (108) of the total in-patient days and 18% (142) of the outpatient days were attributable to residents from this village, which is in line with the proportions in the population. This was the only village in the study area that had a resident doctor. The primary health aide, Betty Nelson, indicated that the clinic load is slower in the summer, and that they have few injuries. No overdose of drugs has been reported, and suicides were rare. Several years ago there were a number of attempts, but that too has decreased. There was some concern about the number of miscarriages that had occurred during 1984 (3 or 4 out of 8 pregnancies).

The health aide also reported that there was a notable decrease in drinking and domestic violence, with only two or three cases in 1984. This situation was attributed, in part, to the fact the doctor refused to see anyone who was intoxicated. The figures revealed that Port Lions had one of the best dental health records in the state, believed to be the result of flouride treatment.

Vital Statistics

The state tallies for the period from 1970 through 1983 indicate there were 75 births to women whose residence was identified as Port Lions, an average of 5.6 per year. However, in 1982 only 2 babies were born whereas in 1983 the number was 14. The ages of the mothers at the time of these 75 births were:

Less than 20 yrs:	15	(20%)
21 - 30 years	48	(64%)
31 - 40 years	12	(16%)

The number of births for the 14 year period 1970-1984 was 80 for Port Lions; this was 19% of the total number of births recorded for Kodiak Island villages. The deaths reported for Port Lions for the same period numbered 31, which was 22% of the six village total of 142.

The Churches

Like Ouzinkie, Port Lions is unusual among the villages of the study area in that there are two active churches. The Hillside Bible Chapel was a branch of the Slavic Gospel Mission until 1984 when it merged with Arctic Mission. The missionaries, who live in the community and serve the chapel, were Ralph and Lucy Cone. The presence of the chapel in the community has considerable time depth, predating the 1964 earthquake.

The Orthodox church was started at Afognak at least as early as 1823 when Father Inakenti visited the island. On this occasion, he performed marriages for the Russians, and baptized their wives and children. He also visited and held services at the Native villages which were then separate communities (Huggins 1947:133).

In 1869 when Huggins visited the village of Afognak, he found a second church was being built. He watched the boards for the floors being sawed with the "pit saw." He reported:

> The walls of the church were already up, built of beautiful straight logs, hewed and matched with marvelous precision. The men were at work on the floors and partitions, the priest assisting; and, in fact, he seemed to be the master workman as well as architect. No Orthodox church can be built without relics of the saints which are placed somewhere in the foundations. Feeling curious to know what relics the Afognak church possessed, and where they were placed, I questioned the priest on the subject. "These old boards," said he, after a moment's hesitation, caressing the boards lovingly with his hands, "are as precious to me as anything we have, for the trees were selected in the forest and blessed by Father Inakenti. That was many years ago," he added thoughtfully

> after a pause, "when I was a little boy..." The boards referred to had been taken from the old church, and were to be used about the altar of the new one... (Huggins 1947:138).

Yet another church, The Holy Theotakos Russian Orthodox Church at Afognak, was built in 1905. It was the third one built on the site according to Paul Chattey, state architectural historian (Anchorage Daily News, October 12, 1985). (One wonders if some of the boards in the present building were from the original early 19th century structure.) The building was in the news in the fall of 1985 when it was reported storms were damaging the structure. Because of subsidence following the 1964 earthquake and beach erosion, the water was encroaching on the church's foundation. Tim Martin, a salvage expert, was reported as working at protecting the building, with the intention of relocating and restoring it at Port Lions (The Kodiak Daily Mirror, October 23, 1985). A new structure for the Orthodox church was built when the village moved to Port Lions. It was noted in 1984 that at least 38 icons were in place, some very old, from the original church. One bell had been brought over from the Afognak church where there used to be six.

On December 16, 1984, N. Davis attended an Orthodox service. Oscar Peterson, the lay reader, led the service with the assistance of two women singers. Sixteen persons attended. Although some traditional tension between the Chapel and the Orthodox church continues, the intensity seems modified. A great respect for Orthodoxy continues among many at Port Lions; by way of illustration, at the time of the field visit one could sense the great loss felt because of the recent death of Sergie Sheratine who had led the church for many decades. Clearly family, the school, and the church continue as the major social institutions in the village.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Port Lions had a strong city council, led by women mayors from 1978 to 1985. Several major capital improvement projects were recently completed successfully. The village corporation, whose offices are located in the town of Kodiak, had its shareholders widely scattered. Because the population included a growing non-Native segment, assertion of tribal organization and prerogatives seemed not likely to gain much support in the community. Some residents have long felt somewhat removed from the regional non-profit's (KANA) activities, as well.

Local Government

Port Lion's city council oversaw both city officials and local projects. Meetings of the council were held regularly; in October, 1984, a total of 12 persons were on the city personnel employee list. Over the last few years a number of changes have occurred in the council membership and leadership. Since 1978, there were three different mayors; all were women. Between 1981 and 1984, changes included the mayor and three council members. Members of the city council in October 1984 included:

Mayor	Helen Wise
Deputy Mayor	Patricia Lukin
Council members	Reggie Gundersen, Sr.
	Robby Hoedel
	Margaret Nelson
	Robert Nelson
	Pete Squartsoff

This council included 3 women, 3 salmon permit holders, and the harbormaster (who also crews on a fishing boat). The two non-Natives on the council were related to Native families by marriage. The leadership also included two relatively new Native "returnees" to Port Lions--Wise, the 1984 mayor, and Nelson, who was chosen Mayor in 1985.

The role of women as leaders was also reflected in the tribal council, which had 3 women in 1984:

President	Rhea Knagin
Vice-President	Fred Pestrikoff
Members	Ann Squartsoff
	Helen Wise

Note there was little overlap between the two councils; only one person, Helen Wise, was serving on both. In addition to being mayor and a member of the tribal council, she also served on the parent's committee at the school, KANA representative, school advisory committee, and headed the Orthodox Church Committee. Another leader was the city clerk, David Wakefield, who was on the Kodiak Island Borough Assembly during the early 1980s. He began serving as Port Lions city clerk in 1978, when the city budget was $30,000; in 1984, it was $202,000.

In this period, many capital improvement projects were undertaken. Completed ones included upgraded roads, new housing, a water system with fire hydrants, a fire truck, added construction at the airport, and a new harbor. Underway on November 10, 1984, was a new water and sewer installation; clear cutting for the system was finished. By mid-December an office addition and remodeling were nearly done. With a new $125,000 water tank installed, the village was counting on enough water throughout the winter. One result of the 1982 Comprehensive Plan was the discussion, and ultimate decision to increase the city limits by 7 1/2 square miles.

Some local residents volunteered that they were puzzled by a few of the major projects. For example, one individual raised the question of why the airstrip had been improved at a cost of $1.6 million. Two people speculated that the up-grading was related to anticipated (unspecified) future industrial development. One leader commented that the council had not asked for the airstrip improvement. Nor had some residents anticipated such an extensive harbor. It was even more of a surprise than the airport improvements. Certainly a small boat harbor had been requested, but a total of 98 additional slips was far beyond expectation. In December 1984 there were 18 boats in town altogether, with 12 in the new harbor; in February 1986 the city listed 29 there.

Other projects have been characterized by misunderstandings or communication difficulties. The airstrip's location is an example. When first built, in 1964, the airport was placed where the 1964 council expected the new village to be. When the men returned from fishing, they found construction underway two miles away from where they thought their homes would be built; the airstrip was being placed where they expected the village. In addition, the homes were put in the trees in classic suburban curves. The houses were constructed without full local awareness of plans and designs. A more recent illustration of the costs of not involving villagers so that their knowledge can be incorporated into plans is reflected in the design of the new harbor. Residents were not consulted about local weather conditions and in 1984 the harbor had already been damaged by winds from the northeast. An "L" shaped breakwater would have prevented this damage, according to one local source, who also remarked that any resident fisherman could have suggested its proper placement.

Land Issues

In Port Lions, as elsewhere, land--particularly its sale and distribution--is a contemporary concern. In 1981 the city offered seven lots for sale; they were put out for bids and five were sold. The prices were $9,000, $15,000, $20,000 (2 lots), and $40,000 for a 3/4 acre lot. In order to provide space for the new HUD housing, ten acres of ANCSA 14 (c)3 land were made available.

Allotments. At least 38 individuals filed for Native allotments in the vicinity of Port Lions and Afognak. This is about 15% of the total number of applications from Kodiak Island. The filings encompass 4,066 acres, which represents about 13% of the island's total applications. Several of these allotments have been awarded, and people were building cabins and planning gardens for the sites; the remaining applications were still pending in 1984.

ANCSA and Shareholder Addresses. The total land conveyed to the combined Afognak/Port Lions village corporation by June 20, 1980 was 185,884 acres: 97,423 to the Afognak Native Corporation and 88,461 acres to Port Lions. The village corporation offices are located in Kodiak; several people indicated they wished the offices were in Port Lions. However, as noted in the following analysis, there were more shareholders living in Kodiak than in the village. The total enrollment of the merged village corporations of Afognak and Port Lions was 503 shareholders. The analysis of the location of these enrollees was based on the Koniag address list dated January 3, 1985. Of the original 503, four had died and no addresses were known for 15, so the following is based on 484 known locations.

In Port Lions itself were found the addresses of 132 (27%) of the shareholders; in the city of Kodiak, 144 (30%). Eight enrollees had addresses in 3 other Kodiak villages: Ouzinkie (4), Old Harbor (3) and Karluk (1). In all, 284 (59%) of the Afognak/Port Lions Native Corporation shareholders were located somewhere on Kodiak Island. By adding the four living at Chignik Lake, which is also a Koniag village, nearly 60% (288) had addresses in traditionally Koniag territory. Elsewhere in Alaska 72 (15%) more shareholders were distributed as follows: in the Anchorage area, 12% [Anchorage (55) and Eagle River (4)]; 3 in the Matanuska Valley, .05% [Wasilla (2) and Palmer (1)]; 6 in the Kenai Peninsula vicinity, 1% [Soldotna (3) and one each in Ninilchik, Homer, English Bay]; 2 in Southeast, .05% [Ketchikan and Sitka, 1 each]; and the rest (2) in the Interior at Eagle.

Combining these with the shareholders living in traditional Koniag territory reveals that 360 (74%) of the Afognak enrollees have addresses in Alaska in 6 different Native regions. The rest--124 (26%)--lived in 15 states Outside, and 1 was in the military. The greatest majority, 96 (20%), had addresses in the 3 western states of Washington (62), Oregon (9), and California (25). The remaining 27 (6%) of the enrollees were in 12 more states, including Ohio 8 (1½%), Louisiana 6 (1%), and 2 each in Illinois, South Dakota, and Texas (1%). All the rest had 1 each: Connecticut, Florida, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, and Oklahoma (a total of 1½%). In sum, 26% of the shareholders had addresses beyond the boundaries of the state, while 74% lived in 18 different communities in Alaska, including 60% who were found within traditional Koniag ethnic boundaries.

One of the topics of the focused discussions was directly related to ANCSA: "How has the land claims changed life here?" In Port Lions, responses were split almost evenly; 5 residents gave generally positive responses; 4 were predominantly negative; 2 individuals saw no change at all, and one "didn't know." There were 3 references to money, 3 to land. Here are illustrations of the positive comments:

> More land conscious.
>
> We have to stay up with things more.
>
> It's has made us more political.
>
> We know a little more about our ancestors.
>
> More Natives own land (now); people are putting up cabins on their 5 acres.

Examples of the negative responses included the following:

> There is more feeling of distrust; it has not brought people together.
>
> No one can buy land
>
> It's created more problems with non-Natives, especially the concept of 'rich Natives'.

One woman volunteered where she stood on the sovereignty issue (tribal government assertion of control was a topic receiving attention at the time elsewhere in Alaska, but only indirectly in Port Lions).

> Sovereignty scares me half to death. I would move out if they tried to do that here. They are talking about it (here, but) I would rather be under the city government.

Finally, a man who had been exceptionally involved in the 1970s with land claims issues, as well as many more matters affecting Natives at the time, offered an insightful comment. He, like some other leaders his age, had dropped out of village, corporation and Koniag regional affairs, but nevertheless continued to observe what was happening with interest and concern. He said:

> It (ANCSA) has changed life some, but not as much as we had expected back in 1970. We do have land, but people are a little bit disappointed - especially how our money is used. We are shareholders in a corporation but the people see very little money. Only five or six people are earning anything. The manager gets $80,000-$90,000 a year. Maybe there are 30 employed on the whole island in corporation activities... The land part is fine. It is good to have the land, but in 1991 maybe they'll sell. I wish there was some way we could restrict (the sale of stock)."

This statement is from a man who at one time held 9 different positions, including that of mayor. His special concern about the sale of stock was further elaborated in an example which he gave suggesting how, perhaps after a bad fishing season, a young man in debt and discouraged would be inclined to sell his stock.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

As with other aspects of life in Port Lions, economic activities are marked by some complexity. Here we look at parts having to with harvesting local foods, using an elegant new store, obtaining work as the result of an increase in city jobs, the continuity of commercial fishing, and certain conflicts over the growing outdoor recreation industry.

Subsistence and Food Preferences

The topic, "What is your favorite food?" usually led to a discussion of subsistence and the local store. Once again the residents were almost evenly divided as to whether they mentioned first as their preference local, subsistence foods, or chose purchased items from the store. Four people fell into the former category and five in the latter. Among the preferred local resource items were smoked salmon, ducks, clams, and fish "when I can get it." The last response led to assessing where one elderly couple got their fish: at least two local men, including a non-Native, had given it to them. One person gave them 20 fish, which they then salted; the non-Native man gave his fish to a Native friend, who then shared it one more step with her sister and her sister's husband. From this, the couple put up 12 quarts and 12 pints of fish.

A different, younger family reported they usually put up 200 fish a year, 100 in the spring and 100 in the fall. However, in the fall of 1984, the man got back from commercial fishing too late to harvest or process subsistence fish. This family ordinarily puts up salt fish, 15 gallons of four species. One resident commented that dog salmon is best when pickled. Several women said they can, salt and smoke fish "when they can (get them)." Some of the men were deer hunting on three wheelers in December 1984. On December 15, one of them returned with 4 deer. The local residents reported they were finding they had to go farther from the village each year to harvest deer. A Native woman said she eats venison, but she really likes steak better.

One of the most active subsistence harvesters was the school's principal teacher. In addition to owning a salmon permit and 2 boats, he had bagged goat, elk, and deer that year. He also fished off his boat for king and tanner crab as subsistence items. When we visited, he was about to serve some fresh crab to a visiting basketball team. Two other non-Native men were identified as having given fish to village friends and relatives. Here, as elsewhere, the impression was gained that some non-Natives were more active in subsistence-related activities than many of the Natives. Among the respondents whose preference was for store-bought goods, a variety of foods were mentioned. One non-Native declared cheese as her favorite. Stew and brown beans was the answer of a Native Elder. Steak rated first for one family.

The topic following the favorite food discussion called for the residents to identify the food eaten at the main meal the day before. Eight households gave the main ingredient for 10 meals. Not counting a special pizza for the senior citizens, 7 out of 10 meals included purchased foods. The three meals with a local food included gumboots and gravy at the home of an elder, elk steak at a non-Native fisherman's home, while the local doctor had tanner crab. (His wife ate wieners and beans, and his kids had steak sandwiches.) Our sample also told us about the store items that were consumed on December 15 and 16, 1984. Among them were macaroni and cheese, chicken, parsnips, mashed potatoes, onion gravy, apple and mince pie, swiss steak, tacos, hamburger, and corned beef soup. The special treat was prepared at home by the cook for the Senior program: pizza with king crab and smoked salmon topping.

The next topic, logically, was where people bought their food. Four families said they buy in Seattle, but not Anchorage. (Indeed no one regularly orders from Anchorage.) E & E in Seattle was identified here, as in Chignik Lagoon, as a good source of meat (at $1.19/lb.). Some foods are bought in Kodiak, but the proportion has decreased since the Mark-it Store opened in Port Lions in 1983. One person used to buy only 20% of the family food at the local store, but has shifted now to buying at least 75% there. This woman reported it was more fun than shopping over the phone or in Kodiak; getting groceries had grown into a social occasion for her, suggesting the store has become a new social center.

The Stores

Two stores were operating in Port Lions in December, 1984: The Mark-it branch and the Port Lions' General Store owned by Mr. Gimelli. He also served the community at the time as VPSO. Unfortunately, the Gimellis were not in town during the field visit, so no details about the operation could be gathered.

The Mark-it shop is the largest of three village stores owned by Mark-it Foods of Kodiak. It is located in a building leased from Larsen Bay Builders. The store opened on December 11, 1983 so it had just had its first anniversary on the occasion of the field visit for this study. Most of its supplies are brought by the freighter, Western Pioneer, about once every six weeks; they are shipped from Associated Grocers in Seattle. Enough fresh produce is included to last about one week after arrival of the ship; after that fresh produce is sent by air from Kodiak. The breads are from Anchorage. No other goods are bought in Anchorage because, if they were to be shipped on the Western Pioneer, they would first have to go to Seattle and then return to Alaska on the vessel's northern trip. The new store was doing a thriving business. For example, gross sales on Saturday, December 15, 1984 were $3,862. The breakdown of this figure included:

Groceries	$899
Produce	224
Other, not food	699
Special meat	40
Honda	2000

For one month, the gross was estimated at $40,000. For the first year of business it was about $480,000. Nearly $250,000 of this was in the sales of Hondas; obviously all-terrain three- and four-wheel vehicles were "hot items" in 1984. Other popular items were soda drinks, dairy products and meat. The manager said it was also difficult to keep up with the demand for mayonnaise and pilot bread. The following is a list of 1984 prices for some key items:

Shotgun shells		$14.60	(box of 20)
Coffee, 2 lbs.		8.94	
Pilot Bread		2.80	
Eggs		1.22	
Milk, can		.80	
Wheaties	1 lb.2 oz.	2.48	
Sugar	5 lbs.	2.72	
Candy bar		.35	
Pop, can		.54	
6 pack		2.89	
case		10.70	
Bananas, 1 lb.		.89	
Apples		1.19	
Lettuce		.79	
Tomatoes		1.29	
Potatoes 10 lbs.		2.99	
Onions (yellow)/lb.		.59	
Chicken/lb.		1.39	
Hamburger 1 lb.		2.00	
Spare ribs 1 lb.		2.18	
Bacon/lb.		2.54	

Toilet paper	4 roll	1.74
Paper towel		1.93
Cigarettes	pack	.90
Snuff	box	1.12
Pampers	60 (13-33 lb.)	10.81
Huggies,	48 medium	13.97

The Port Lions Mark-it store had more vegetables and other fresh produce than noted in village stores elsewhere in the study area. Several factors can be hypothesized as contributing to the apparent success of this venture. It might be that the Russian agricultural influence from earlier days in this community contributes to the present-day preferences for beef and garden products. In addition, this is a relatively affluent village; there are many local jobs so the cash is there for purchases.

Jobs

Jobs are gaining in number and in significance in local economic life. The city clerk observed that in the past, low-paying village jobs were not particularly desirable. Fishing then had the greater status. In recent years, however, as the economic strength of the fishing industry has declined, local jobs have gained in stature. Now, even though Port Lions has a strong fishing base and tradition, through city, borough, and KANA jobs, and through the growth of local businesses, it is a community in economic transition through diversification.

As previously noted in the Political Organization section, there were 12 paid positions with the city. The city payroll in FY1984 was $124,000; the specific jobs were:

Fire Chief, VPSO	Sam Gimelli
Ferryperson	Russel Gundersen, Sr.
Community Hall Maintenance/ Office Aide	Charlene Kewan
Assistant City Clerk	Liz Kewan
Road Foreman	Harold Kewan
Assistant foreman	Peter Kewan
Water and Sewer supt.	Abner Nelson, Sr.
Garbagepersons	C. and J. Nelson
Harbormaster	Robert Nelson
Ass't Harbormaster	Daryl Serjeant
City Clerk	David Wakefield
Librarian	Georgia Kramer

The city's responsibilities included road maintenance, which paid $11 to $13.26 an hour. The state was responsible for airport maintenance; these positions paid $19.88 and $16.57 an hour.

The school was another major employer. In addition to 8 teachers, the following worked there:

Secretary/ teacher aide	Margaret Nelson
Teacher aides	Liz Nelson
	Pat Lukin
Day man	Cecil Nelson
Custodians	Sergay Sheratin
	Theo Brandal
	Mike Negly
Recreation/gym	J. Nelson

Other jobs in the village included:

Manager, Mark-It Store	Norm Ursin
Post Office	Martha Nelson
Health Aide	Betty Nelson
Health aide alternate	L. Maughan
Community Health Rep.	Marilyn Haakanson
Doctor	Michael Emmick, M.D.

There was some concern about local hire. The Terror Lake hydroelectric project had just finished at the time of the field visit. According to one resident, only 2 local men had worked there, even though the project was just 7 miles away. Also it was reported that only one person was hired for the water and sewer project. The construction crew for this $528,000 installation was said to have come from Homer. For the HUD housing project, 6 or 7 local people were hired, and several men came over from Ouzinkie. (Note, however, that this is informal information, not validated by confirming the reports.)

Local Businesses

Port Lions had a number of private enterprises that provided services to both local residents and visitors. One was the lodge, Settler's Cove Inn. Mr. and Mrs. Inman, originally from Grant's Pass, Oregon, have operated it since 1975. Although designed for hunting and fishing parties, the lodge's main business in recent years has been housing and feeding construction teams. The facilities included six rooms, a restaurant and a game room. Some hunters have stayed there, but the ferry schedule precludes much short-term business because the boat calls too rarely for people to stay over. When construction workers were staying at the lodge, it was closed to the public. Room and board was $80/day for this clientele. A room for an overnight customer rented for $45 a person. Meals were served family-style. When the Inn was housing and feeding 14 men, Mrs. Inman placed two orders a month for about $4000 worth of food. Much of it was bought from the City Market in Kodiak city. She phoned in her order and then chartered an ATS plane to deliver it (a six passenger plane cost $70 an hour). She did not order from Anchorage because it took too long for delivery.

The menu at the lodge listed the following:

3 egg omelet	$7.00
Hamburger	4.25
Hamburger deluxe	4.50
Fries	2.00
T-bone steak dinner	15.00
Pork chops	12.00
Pie	1.50

Another lodge was the Lion's Den Chalet. Opened about 1983, it was a fourplex apartment building owned and managed by Mr. and Mrs. Komiski. Their brochure identified the facility as a wilderness lodge, with two-bedroom apartments. The apartment rental rates were $40/day for one person, or $25/day each for up to four persons per apartment. Home cooked meals were available in a central dining area.

A locally-owned cafe, operated by Helen Nelson, was first opened in 1967-68. She said she had cooked for nearly every construction team that had come to Port Lions. Recently she reopened the cafe for local residents. She indicated she especially enjoyed serving the local people; "My people keep me going," she declared as she served one of her many relatives and friends. She hired one person part-time and occasionally hires a teenager to help out. Other local businesses included small gift stores in the homes of Anna Sheratin and Ann Squartsoff. Several local men provided charter boats and guide services. In addition to a manager, the Mark-it store employed two part-time clerks, a janitor once a week, and 3 or 4 men at $7/hour to unload goods when the ship came in.

The above list of businesses and jobs is not quite complete. The fuel distribution company had as employee, and someone looks after the electrical system and the telephones. In all, the total number of jobs in Port Lions at the time of the field visit was at least 40.

Local costs

Some of the expenses of living in Port Lions are briefly noted here. For example, houses rented for $400-$500/month. There were quite a number of rental units available in December of 1984. One house that was bought for $7500 in 1967 was sold in the 1980's for $40,000. Water and sewer rates were $20 a month. Heating costs were estimated to be $95-100, but if wood was used, then they dropped to about $45-75. Wood cost $85 a cord, and one family reported a cord would last about 5 weeks. With the state's energy assistance subsidy, the rate for electricity had dropped from 47 cents to 17½ cents per kw. When Terror Lake power came on line, the electrical utility was shifted to the Kodiak Electric Association (KEA). At the time of data gathering, this had just happened; the first bills under the changed administration had just arrived. The new rate was the same as the town of Kodiak's--17½ cents/kw.--beginning in October 1984. The bill for one home was $102 for about 600 kw, and for another it was $106 for the month of November.

A family of 4 planned on $350-$400 a month for food. They received $182 worth of food stamps. In 1984 to moor a boat in the harbor, owners were charged an annual fee of $9 a foot for boats under 48 feet and $13 a foot for boats over 48 feet in length. Transient boat owners were charged $8/day for under 30 feet and $12 for over 30 feet. With respect to transportation, a 6 passenger plane could be chartered for $70/hr. Air fare to the town of Kodiak was $10 one way. The cost of going there round trip by boat was about $70 for fuel. A Honda 110 cost $1400; a Honda 250 was $2600.

Ten responses were obtained during the discussion of what people did with any extra money they received, such as dividend checks. Four people indicated they would pay bills. One woman, a non-Native, said if she had some extra cash she would go to see her children Outside. Another would go to Hawaii. One person said she bought wood cutting equipment and now would buy furniture with any extra money. In 1980 Koniag regional corporation shareholders received checks for $2100; when they arrived, one family disclosed they bought 2 Hondas, one of which was still working. In another example, when the first state Permanent Fund dividend check came in 1982, one woman took six village children on a trip to Europe.

Harbor Facilities

The Port Lions' harbor facilities were impressive. Altogether, there were facilities for 120 vessels. The dock at the Wakefield plant site had space for 22 boats. A new harbor, which cost about $4 million including a breakwater, had a capacity for 98 boats with 15 spaces reserved for transients. The capacity of the slips and the number available at the new harbor was as follows:

48 foot	12	40 foot	18
40 foot	24	24 foot	18
62 foot	12	30 foot	14

According to the harbormaster's daily records, between September 24 and December 17, 1984, 30 transient boats tied up and paid fees at the new harbor. On December 16, 1984 there were 12 boats at the new harbor and about 6 at the Wakefield site dock. The city of Port Lions computer print-out of boats, skiffs, and fees assessed for rented stalls, dated February 4, 1986, indicated increased use of the facilities. A total of 36 stalls at the new harbor and two stalls at the old floats were rented at that time; the assessed annual fees totaled $12,267. Among the rentals were 24 fishing boats ranging in size from 24 to 47 feet in length. The annual fee for these boats went from $360 to $558, and accounted for $9252 of the total (the average fee was $385.50). In addition, there were 5 smaller boats, sized 19 to 22 feet; their annual fees ranged from $216 to $225, for $1089 of the total (the average was $217.80 per stall). Finally 9 "skiffs" were registered with fees amounting to $1926 (averaging $214). In all, 38 boats were reported to have reserved stalls at the Port Lions Harbor.

Assuming that fishing continues to be economically viable, facilities like these, plus the fact housing is available, could serve in the future as enticements to fishermen from other places to migrate to this community. In recent years at least two families from the Chigniks have moved here with their boats and families. Three brothers from Ouzinkie have also moved in recent years, two of them with boats.

Commercial Fishing

The query that usually led to discussion of fishing activities was simply, "What do you to in the summer?" Perhaps 20 years ago in Port Lions most replies would have referred to fishing; but no longer. In 1984 local jobs and gardening were mentioned as frequently as commercial fishing. Picnicking and camping, attending the local Fourth of July carnival, and visiting Afognak were summer activities. The references to gardening were more frequent than elsewhere. One woman said her mother "Always had a garden." One couple was starting a garden on the land obtained as their allotment.

But even with all of the diverse summer activities, fishing, permits, crews and canneries remained one primary focus of life here. The 1984 prices for fish were 26 cents a pound for pink and 92 cents a pound for red salmon.

Permits. In the fall of 1984 Port Lions residents had 19 purse seine permits. At least four of them were held by non-Natives. One of the local teachers had bought his permit, along with an old boat, from a local Native man. Two Native men had bought their permits; one paid $60,000 for his and the other paid $80,000. Another Native fisherman, an elder, disclosed he had been offered $50,000 for his permit. He hoped to obtain a full cash settlement, and he wanted to sell to a Native. Several times local Natives expressed reservations about teachers buying permits. One woman pointed out that teachers, with combined pay of $80,000 to $90,000 a year, were the only ones who could afford to buy them at the current prices. Another resident, a young white fisherman, expressed a different kind of antipathy; he compared--unfavorably--the teachers' interest in the fishing industry with his commitment to it: "For the teachers, it's a hobby." He estimated that 30% of the seine permits, and 85% of the beach permits are held by school teachers. In addition to this source of competition, he spoke of increasing contention with the Outside fishermen.

Boats. At the time of the field trip in 1984, some permit owners leased their boats from the cannery; others leased theirs from residents who had a vessel, but not a permit. And for some, other arrangements were made. One elder fisherman bought a boat from the Chigniks and then sold it to the Columbia Wards company for $15,000 to settle his bills. Investing in, and keeping boats, has been extremely difficult in recent times with the downturn in fishing. For example, one man reportedly bought an $800,000 boat and owed only $190,000 on it when he could no longer make ends meet and so lost both the boat and his permit. Another man had an old boat that his son wanted to take out. The owner said it would have to have a new engine before he would feel right about letting his son fish with it. The insurance on the old boat was $2600. The same man had a new boat; the insurance on it was $10,000 and the payment on the loan for it was $29,600. After adding up these costs, he figured he had to gross $60,000 a year in order to make any money from fishing. This man now leases his new boat to a local fisherman. In the meantime, he anticipated repairing the old boat for his son. The cannery, which held his loan, required that he lease the new boat to an established highliner, and not his young son who was still learning the profession. Here, as at Ouzinkie, if credit was extended by the cannery, the arrangement included selling fish exclusively to Columbia Wards. One fisherman disclosed he had a credit line for fuel of $2000 a season. This same fisherman estimated his food costs for the crew to be $700 each or $2800 a season.

Crews. Some limited information about crews was obtained. The distribution on a larger boat was 40% for the boat, 60% for the crew split four ways. The boat share included paying for the fuel, and crew members shared the food costs. One man reported he fished with his brother-in-law at King Cove, for 20% share. Another fished locally with his brother for 12%-15%. One young high school graduate fished at Sand Point for 10%. (His mother figured it was good for him to get used to being away from home before going to college; the same argument was made by a mother at Old Harbor.) Finally, one man said he had taken three boys out on his boat and paid them $5000 each.

Two of the local non-Native residents crewed at the Chigniks with fishermen from Kodiak. A different man had been crewing for seven years with his sister's husband who lived at Chignik Lake. In all, at least 5 men from Port Lions crewed on boats sailing to westward, beyond Kodiak Island. One younger fisherman indicated he had been fishing with his mother's brother since he was 9 or 10 years old. Unfortunately, the data is far from complete because of the short time for the field trip and another was not possible.

Two Fishermen

The discussions with two Port Lions fishermen are reported here in considerable detail because they provided special insights into the industry and into some of the dilemmas contemporary fishermen face. The first was with Robby Hoedel, a young, non-Native fisherman, in his early thirties. He is married to a Port Lions woman, and is the father of three small children. The family has lived in Port Lions since 1975.

Hoedel started fishing in 1967. When the limited entry law went into effect, he had accrued half enough points for a Cook Inlet permit and half enough for one in Kodiak; unfortunately, his points could be used only in one place. While going to school from 1969-72, he missed out on getting a permit. He ended up having to buy a boat, a permit, and gear. Hoedel has participated in all the fisheries: crab, salmon, herring, halibut. His greatest love is crab fishing. He "knew crabs when they were paying 23 cents a pound, and when you could bring in 150 keeper crabs (7 inches across the back) in one pot. Now you can't find a keeper crab." During one season, he harvested 130,000 pounds of tanner and 60,000 lbs. of king crab.

Now he is getting no king crab and only 20,000 pounds of tanner crab. He must contend with more boats and more gear in the places where he fishes, and with lower quotas of permissible catches. A "good" year, that is one when he could meet expenses, requires a gross of $120,000. He is buying his boat--a 43 foot Delta Marine built in Seattle. In order to make his payments, he participates in all the fisheries. Recently he went all the way to Togiak for herring; it took six days and nights to get there. Among the costs were $2800 for fuel. And the price for the herring was lower there than elsewhere.

> It's scary. I get half the income that I used to get.
> Two years now I haven't had that income.

One year Hoedel was the Port Lions' representative to the fisherman's association. The group went on strike in 1979 for six weeks. When the strike ended, all the group had managed to get was a half a cent more for their harvest. The strikers included 14 fishermen with boats shorter than 50 feet. Bigger boats came out much better because, by the time the strike was over, the crab had migrated to deeper water, and only the larger vessels could harvest them; the small boats missed out. During the discussion, Hoedel got out the Western Regional King Crab Survey to demonstrate his contention that the data had been used by fishermen to wipe out the king crab population. As part of the scientific surveys, test pots were set out; the report identifies the exact location, how many pots were set, and how many crab were at each of the test sites. Thus the data were available to identify exactly where the highest density of crabs could be found; all one needed was the equipment to go and harvest them.

Bottomfishing, he believed, excluded many local fishermen because they simply do not have the necessary size of boat. The length of time one has to be at sea and the depth at which bottomfishing occurs demands a large vessel. Because the price for bottomfish was only 7 cents a pound, Hoedel did not think it was likely that local fishermen would have much chance of success. He reported that out of 80 or 90 draggers, only 7 were Alaskan boats. Hoedel also had doubts about the effects if limited entry is imposed on halibut fisheries. He thinks limited entry would force fishermen into an exclusive decision either for salmon or for halibut. Choosing halibut for him would take a whole new set of gear; it could cost up to $20,000 just to get outfitted. He would need as a minimum an automatic baiter, a long line system, reels, and 25 to 50 skates. This is a capital investment he could not make. Furthermore, he thinks the quota on halibut should be reduced.

In sum, it is crabbing that Hoedel loves the most. He misses it; crabbing was the height of his fishing career. However, he is optimistic; he believes that knowing the crab industry well will sharpen his ability to adapt to other fisheries. In the meantime, he was counting on the tanner season to help pay the bills and make the payments on his boat, his permit, and his gear.

The second fisherman is a Native man in his fifties, thus 20 years older than Hoedel. Evan (not his real name) has 7 children and six grandchildren. His wife had experienced a serious illness, and he has essentially stopped fishing, though he owns two boats and a permit. He has been leasing his new boat, and he and his son fished part of the summers with the other one. Recently, he has had a job in the village. To make payments on the new boat, he sold his house and moved into a smaller, HUD-sponsored home. His history in the fishing industry is briefly outlined here.

In the 1950s, Evan was a web foreman at the cannery at Ouzinkie. His job was to supervise and help build seines, and repair them when necessary. He was also in charge of storing, inventory, and purchasing web-related items. At that time, he did a little crabbing and salmon fishing. But he lost everything in the tsunami after the 1964 earthquake--including his job at the cannery, which was destroyed. The family moved to the town of Kodiak in 1965 to be closer to the crab delivery industry. In 1961 Evan bought a 36 foot boat. Its value at the time was $14,500 and he paid $9000 for it. In 1981 he invested in another boat--a 42 foot LeClair. It cost $219,000 and he took out a state loan to pay for it. The electronic equipment alone on this new boat cost $15,000, more than the total value of his old boat. These differences reflect some of the economic trends that delineate the history of fishing. But as Evan noted, "I have seen trends all my life. There's inflation and I just simply can't catch up."

His 1962 season was a good one, followed by a slump in 1963. 1964 was a good season, but 1965 was slow; the salmon catch was down about then, but king crab harvests were coming up. His 1966 season was "fantastic"; from the fall of 1965 through the fall of 1966, Evan and his wife fished together and got a total of 72,000 king crab--their best crab catch ever. From 1970-1976 crab harvests were down again, picking up again in 1976 and rising until 1980, when the fishery, as Evan described it, "plunged completely out." The family had been planning to buy a new boat in 1978, and Evan was about to invest in it when his wife became seriously ill. He postponed the purchase until 1981. In the meantime, the salmon price dropped from 44 cents a pound to 15 cents, in part because of a botulism scare. Evan found he could only make a $10,000 payment and fell $29,000 short. He recalled, "That really hurt." Also, he needed more gear for his new boat. On his old boat, Evan had 30 crab pots that could handle 18,000 pounds. On his new boat, he could handle 40,000 lbs. By using all the electronics, he could fish more of the time. But by 1982 there were few crab and salmon were not abundant. So in order to make his payment, Evan sold his house for $40,000. He put $30,000 of the proceeds on the boat loan. Now he leases his new boat to highliners.

Consistent with the tradition of fishermen, Evan remains optimistic--now more for his son than for himself. The year of 1984, he observed, was the best season since 1978. He has taken a part-time local job to help pay the bills. He is in the community and can look after his wife. However, it is little wonder that he hopes for greater diversity of opportunity for his children and grandchildren. He sees little promise in bottomfishing. As he pointed out, "The price is so low and the competition is so high, the small fishermen can't compete." In his own case, even if his boat could hold 40,000 pounds, at ten cents a pound he would get only $4000. Despite what sounds like bad luck in recent years, Evan's optimism and good cheer persist. Fishing looks grim and uncertain for the small scale local village fisherman in the Kodiak Island area, yet his positive outlook continues.

Outdoor Recreation and Sportsmen

With two lodges, 3 restaurants (open seasonally), an expanded airstrip, and a huge boat harbor, Port Lions obviously has the potential for the development of some sort of industry. However, there was considerable ambivalence about tourism and the marketing of local fish and game resources as sports activities. Campers and motorhomes already were a problem. Apparently people had come in, camped out, shot deer and left debris. The council had addressed the matter by banning camping inside the city limits. The mayor serving in 1984 replied, "No" when asked if she favored more tourism. Several other residents expressed a similar point of view. Two volunteered they preferred oil and gas development over tourism, and a third individual indicated that between oil and tourism the shift had been recently towards favoring oil. When asked to elaborate, it became clear that the problem with the ferry, campers, and vehicles was not just that debris had to be cleaned up, but also that the deer population was believed to be decreasing.

Similar reservations were expressed about guiding as a business. One Native resident said it was "OK if they hire Natives" as guides. There were two brothers who did take hunters out and chartered their skiffs. But such actions too can cause problems. An example is when Native guides take non-Native hunters across another Native's land. It was reported that sometimes guides and their non-Native clients had stayed in cabins on recently conveyed lands. In these situations, Natives trespassing on other Natives' property can become an issue.

SUMMARY

OCS and the Future

The final part of this chapter is based on discussions with ten individuals; their responses provided a sense of the local attitudes about industry, especially OCS development. Overall, these residents seem to favor a balance; while preferring fishing, they expressed a general interest and openness to industrial development near Port Lions. Only one individual judged oil and gas activities to be a bad thing. Two expressed ambivalent feelings. A fisherman who especially loves crab fishing remarked that, "There's still a fear." He indicated he was referring to the baby king crab, the plankton, and the baby salmon fry and their possible harm from oil pollutants. But another committed fisherman stated:

> I would like it. I am a stern fisherman but (we) absolutely need different areas of employment. Maybe if I didn't have children I would say no, but I have children and grandchildren. How are they going to live? We know fishing is a good thing...but it isn't like in my time.

This man, a former mayor, had been interested in possible oil development since 1971. He participated in a land selection process and urged locating an area deep enough for a dock for an oil tanker. He can envision having the tanks on the land, and using the airstrip and a dock to supply the development activities.

He continued:

> We need something here, whether it's oil or something else.

Other options discussed included specialized processors to work codfish and pollock, but the price for bottomfish seemed to be so low and competition so high, that no one was enthusiastic. On the other hand, it was clear from the discussion sessions that if there were a choice between tourism and oil, that the local preference was for oil development. One individual favored it because it would bring new residents.

> The oil would involve a lot more people than tourism, which would include only a few. It would build our community and help everybody. More jobs, more people.

Finally, one person put it most strongly: "It's a good thing. I would like to see Port Lions be a base camp." Even so, "this is a fishing town," and it was still difficult to imagine it being anything else.

In the discussions a query was made asking if people were willing to leave the community for a job elsewhere, especially in relation to OCS development. Six said they would, two said they would not, one who wouldn't go himself said his children would. Indeed, some parents were concerned that "the boys have too much love of fishing. They have seen it when it was too successful." But another parent asserted, "You would have to be insane to be a fisherman." Her sons are going to college. Two young men out of high school indicated they were looking for options; they might crew on a boat but planned to go to college in the fall. One young man, age 20, was taking flying lessons and hoped to obtain a commercial license so he could work on a charter plane service. Another was taking diesel engine maintenance and repair training, which he saw as a back-up to fishing.

One fisherman, committed to his profession, was asked what it would take to get him to quit fishing and do something else. His answer was that he would consider a job elsewhere "if there was zero king crabs, zero tanner." If the fishing really got that bad, he would like the option of being able to use his boat in connection with oil and gas exploration. Under those circumstances, he would be willing to consider a second occupation. He was firm, however, in saying it would take "three or four bad seasons" to convince him to change his work.

Changes in Village Life

When asked to identify the kinds of changes that had been occurring, the villagers responded with balanced assessments: five positive and five negative. The changes perceived as good included the new harbor, better roads, new store, new housing, the electrical system, the school improvements, less drinking, and less violence. One non-Native, who had lived in the community about 12 years, noted, "Less racism, more teachers, a more stable school and more intermarriage."

Negative modifications to village life that were cited included "Not enough visiting - too much television," "Now we have to lock the freezer," and "Too many people." One individual observed that, because of the increased white population at the school, Johnson-O'Malley Act and Indian Education Act funds were more difficult to obtain. The disliked changes were summed up by the person who said, "More outsiders, more job competition, and more strangers want to come here."

Another perspective on change was obtained in the discussions about what people like about living in Port Lions. Related to the reference to "more outsiders," one villager noted,

> I know almost everybody.

In former days, though, she would have known not "almost" but absolutely everyone. Perhaps part of the dismay felt by some concerning new people moving into the village is that they are strangers, non-relatives, people no one knows. New inhabitants alter the character of a community, and such alterations are felt differently by the diverse segments of the contemporary population. One woman's point of view about changes was, "I wish I were back at Afognak." Some nostalgia for the old community was still present.

But overall, people seemed to like living in Port Lions; they cited family, peace, freedom, comfortable facilities, costs less than Kodiak, and a "good place to grow children; that is why we came here." One long-time resident pointed out it wasn't isolated anymore; "There are two flights a day to nearby Kodiak; the community has a doctor, two stores and a restaurant." Finally, one person, a non-Native, referred to the subsistence lifestyle. In response to what she liked about Port Lions, she answered:

> The subsistence lifestyle. Hunting, fishing, that is what's fun.

The Kodiak Villages: Summary

These six village descriptions document the unique character of each community, and establish sets of social linkages between pairs: Karluk to Larsen Bay, Akhiok to Old Harbor, and Ouzinkie to Port Lions. Recent migrations between the villages have tended to be from the smaller to the larger, a circumstance especially marked for the Karluk-Larsen Bay set. Population size in 1985 ranged from the most remote, Karluk, with 91 residents to Old Harbor, with 337 residents. Given past and current trends, it would seem three villages will continue to maintain their current numbers, even with some out-migration: Karluk, Akhiok and Ouzinkie. The other three villages will continue to grow as they absorb relatives from the smaller communities, incorporate returning families, and receive increasing numbers of non-Natives: Larsen Bay, Old Harbor, and Port Lions. The traditional competition between these three progressive communities will likely continue as they vie for programs and funds.

Economically, the links between the communities are weak. Rather, the ties are extensive to the town of Kodiak, the center of most services and goods. In this connection a section is added here on an organization especially important to the Kodiak Island villages.

KANA

The Kodiak Area Native Association (KANA) has played an important role in the development of the villages for the past twenty years. In 1978, KANA budgets for 9 separate programs totalled $1,848,281. The in-house employment at the Kodiak-based office was 36 individuals; in addition, many part-time jobs were available. The total payroll then was 113. In 1984, the total budget was $3,390,475, and the number of regular jobs funded was 82: 38 (46%) of these were in the town of Kodiak, and 44 (54%) were village-based. The village jobs included regularly salaried positions such as the Village Public Safety Officer (VPSO) and the Community Health Aides (CHAs). Other positions, paid on an hourly rate, included the tribal manager (Self Determination--PL 638 funds) and recreation directors, paid by Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) funds. Part-time positions also included the senior citizens cooks, community health representatives, and individuals hired for specific programs such as Nutrition Highs.

Of the 82 regular jobs, 53 (65%) were held by Alaskan Natives, 3 (4%) by American Indians, and 26 (32%) by non-Native employees. In the villages, 6 (14% of 44) positions were held by non-Native residents; in Kodiak city, 20 (53% of 38) positions were held by non-Native employees. Overall, women had a much higher number of the positions (61, or 74%), but the women's salaries were lower, partly because men held the highest paying jobs in both the villages (VPSO) and the professional positions in Kodiak (Executive Director, Health Director, Economic Development Director and dentist). In 1984 KANA began playing an increasingly significant role in encouraging and enhancing awareness and interest in Koniag culture, through support of programs in contemporary and prehistoric cultures of the Island, and through holding workshops addressing issues of tribal rights and options. The first KANA board meeting to be held in a village was on January 2-4, 1985.

The Kodiak Island School District contribution outward to the villages is also significant, and growing in influence. As noted, the schools are major employers, and village employees provide a special kind of continuity for the school systems. The range of programs is impressive, and through the school programs, young people are having far more contact with other villages than their parents had. Combined, school-supported and KANA-supported programs may contribute to an unsual renaissance of Koniag village awareness and unity. The rediscovery of their historic and kinship links to the Alaska Peninsula coastal villages might also evolve. However, in the meantime, the strong sense of separate village identity will likely persist.

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IV. GENERAL COMPARISONS

Introduction

This descriptive report provides baseline information on each of eleven communities in an area of the north Pacific that encompasses Kodiak Island and the southeastern coast of the Alaska Peninsula; the villages extend from Ivanof Bay to Port Lions. The major effort was directed toward documenting each village as a separate social unit at a particular time. Against this detail, later studies can provide a comparative analyses and consider kinds and direction of change. Here, in summary, a few observations are made of the study area as a whole. Additional data are provided in Appendix C.

REFERENCES

The village profiles prepared by Dowl Engineers and Environmental Services (Alaska State Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1981; 1982) provide useful background information, and the earlier research by Kozely (1963) presents excellent comparative data for Perryville and Ouzinkie. But no comprehensive ethnographic study for the Koniag has been done (Clark 1984; Davis 1971, 1979, 1984). Just as the outer continental shelf of Alaska is considered a "frontier area" for oil and gas exploration, so also the description of the coastal communities of the North Pacific is a "frontier area" for social science research. This report, and a companion volume emphasizing regional economic and social systems (Cultural Dynamics 1986) contributes new information for this region.

HISTORY

As far as can be determined, both parts of the study area--Kodiak Island and the Chigniks--shared a basic prehistoric, linguistic and cultural foundation that at one time was similar. Originally the villagers were Koniag, Alutiiq (Southern Yupik) speaking people, with a combined fishing and hunting economy. Since the time of written history, both regions have come under similar Russian influences, although the length, extent and impact of these influences appears to be greater in the northern Kodiak Island area than elsewhere. Both areas also experienced the rapid expansion of commercial salmon fisheries and canneries in the late 19th century, but the intensity of this sudden industrial development was greatest in the Karluk and Chignik Bay and Lagoon areas. The canneries operated as summer factories, at first peripheral to the numerous Native villages. Scandinavian influence was probably greatest in the Chignik Bay and Chignik Lagoon areas, initially through a few individuals in the late 19th century, then through a second generation of Scandinavian sailors and fishermen circa 1910-20. Now, there are fifth generation descendants of these early immigrants.

Contact between the Chignik area and Kodiak Island appears to have been frequent in the first part of the 20th century. Travel, visiting and intermarriage occurred during the fur trading and early commercial fishing period. At this time, the means of transportation was primarily by small boat, kayak, and steamship. Now, travel is predominantly by air, and except for the summer months, the routes direct traffic to the towns of Kodiak and Anchorage rather than between the villages across Shelikof Strait. However, as established in this study, social and economic ties continue to link these physically separate areas.

Major Alaskan events such as Statehood (1959), the Great Alaskan Earthquake (1964), the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971), and the Limited Entry Permit Fishing legislation has affected the two major areas differently, shaping and highlighting contrasts in the contemporary villages. For example, Old Harbor, Ouzinkie, and Port Lions shared a similar disruptive experience in the Earthquake and tsunami, which was not felt as directly elsewhere in the region.

The Kodiak-Shumagin area includes three very old villages: Karluk, Akhiok and Chignik Bay; and three new communities, established since 1950: Ivanof Bay, Chignik Lake and Port Lions.

Social Organization

DEMOGRAPHY

An analysis of the population information for the region reveals a number of contrasts and similarities. We have age data on 495 residents in the Chignik area and 1096 in the Kodiak villages. In all, there are 703 village residents under 20 years old and 888 over 20, a ratio of 44:56 in both instances. However, the range was great between the proportion under and over 20 at Ouzinkie (35:65) and the distribution at Karluk and Larsen Bay (51:49). The non-Native population of 247 is about one third younger than 20 (83) and two thirds over (164), for a ratio of 34:66. The Native age ratio varies a great deal; for example, 28:72 at Chignik Lagoon and 54:46 in Larsen Bay and Karluk. Tables with the distributions for the 11 communities are in Appendix C.

Data on the number of Native and non-Native residents for the combined area indicates a total of 1364 Natives and 247 non-Natives, a ratio of 85:15. The range extends from a low ratio of Natives at Chignik Lagoon (58:42) to a high ratio of 98:2 at Ivanof Bay. Next, the information on the distribution of males (854) and females (737) in the total area provides a ratio of 54:46. The non-Native ratio was 50:50, and the Native ratio 54:46. This included a range of Native residents from Karluk (60% males: 40% females) to Larsen Bay (48:52). The non-Native ratio varied also, from 33:67 at Karluk to 58:42 at Larsen Bay.

Here is a summary of the major demographic findings.

- Our local census count indicates there are more than twice as many people in the six Kodiak Island villages (1116) than in the five Chignik villages (505).

- The average number of residents per household ranged from 4.7 in Chignik Lake to 2.4 in Port Lions.

- Village variation is reflected in the number of homes with three generations; there were 36 three-generation households in the study area. Karluk had the highest proportion with 4 (20%); Port Lions had the lowest with 1 (2%).

- There are more banyas (steam baths) per household in the Chignik-Shumagin area than in the Kodiak area.

The five Chignik villages had 41 banyas; here there were 505 residents in 131 households. This averages 12.3 persons to a banya, or 3.2 households to 1 banya. In the Kodiak area, there were 41 banyas for 923 people in 270 households in four villages (Larsen Bay, Old Harbor, Ouzinkie, and Port Lions). This is 22.5 persons per banya or 6.6 households to a banya. The greater use of the banya on the mainland may be indicative of a more conservative life style, or the fewer per population in the Kodiak villages may be a result of the HUD housing there. Or, perhaps the varying incidence of steam bathing is a traditional difference between the two areas.

- The seasonality of life and residency is more marked for all five Alaska Peninsula villages than for the Kodiak Island communities. The village with the greatest influx is Chignik Lagoon which triples in size in June. Chignik Bay doubles, as many residents from the three other villages migrate to the Lagoon and the Bay for summer fishing.

- Kinship ties through marriage continue to link the Kodiak villages with the Pacific coast side of the Alaska Peninsula.

For example, the marriage of a Peterson from Akhiok to a Kalmakoff in Ivanof Bay links 54% of the residents in one village to 75% in the other. Likewise, the descendants of two sisters, one who married a man in Southern Kodiak and the other a man in the Chigniks led to family ties of 54% of Akhiok to 54% of Chignik Lake. Other examples include the marriage of a sister and a brother originally from Afognak to Chignik Lake residents, thus linking the northern part of the Kodiak Island to the mainland. A man born in Perryville and related to 54% of the people in Chignik Lake married a woman in Karluk who is related to 53% of the people there. Two brothers from Old Harbor married two sisters in Ivanof Bay. A Perryville woman married a Peterson in Akhiok, linking all the Shangins to the Petersons. Note that most of these examples are between the southern Kodiak villages and the villages westward. However, there are also Native residents in the City of Kodiak, Ouzinkie and Port Lions who have kinship ties to Chignik Bay. In contrast to these examples of marriages across Shelikof Strait, there are very few marriages between residents born on the southern end of Kodiak Island, especially Old Harbor and Akhiok, with northern end residents.

- Marriage boundaries are not exclusively within the Koniag population region.

For example, from Ivanof Bay, on the far western end of the study area, there are several links to Sand Point to the west. And, at Port Lions on the eastern end of the study area, there are several people originally from further east, such as Tatitlek in Prince William Sound. Also, through marriages to non-Natives, Native residents are linked to dozens of Outside states. When a non-Native marries into a village, a wealth of relatives are acquired, sometimes as many at 53% of the village, as in Karluk. The number of mixed marriages ranges from none in Ivanof Bay and Perryville to 17 in Port Lions. In all, there were 48 mixed marriages; 27 non-Native men and 21 non-Native women had married into the villages.

- In the Kodiak villages, 50% (140) adult Native males were single, and 29% (61) of the adult Native females were single.

- Recent migration between communities indicates a movement of families from small villages to the nearest larger village in the Kodiak Island cluster--from Karluk to Larsen Bay; from Akhiok to Old Harbor; and from Ouzinkie to Port Lions.

The demographic data on which much of the analysis in this section is based was gathered by local research assistants.

SCHOOLS

Elegant new schools were built during the early 1980s in five of the six Kodiak villages and in two of the five Chignik region villages. Many new programs, sports events, and specialized teachers were added in both regions. Three of the Chignik Schools had a hot lunch program with a local cook; the Kodiak Island schools served frozen meals, heated in microwave ovens. By 1985, four-year high schools were operating in Perryville, Chignik Lake, Akhiok, Old Harbor and Port Lions. Classes through 10th grade were available in Karluk, Larsen Bay and Ouzinkie. Only the elementary grades were taught in Ivanof Bay, Chignik Lagoon and Chignik Bay. The student enrollment at the time of the field visits totalled 490 for the region; 142 (29%) in the Chigniks and 348 (71%) in the Kodiak villages.

Pupils were distributed as follows:

Ivanof Bay	8
Perryville	40
Chignik Lake	53
Chignik Lagoon	18
Chignik Bay	23
Karluk	28
Larsen Bay	63
Akhiok	26
Old Harbor	101
Ouzinkie	53
Port Lions	77

CHURCHES

Although the original church affiliation for all the villages in the North Pacific was Russian Orthodox, the amount of activity and the degree of involvement varied greatly. Five of the eleven villages were exclusively Orthodox (Perryville, Chignik Lake, Karluk, Akhiok, and Old Harbor). One was exclusively Protestant (Ivanof Bay). Five had both an Orthodox and a Protestant tradition: Chignik Bay, Chignik Lagoon, Larsen Bay, Ouzinkie and Port Lions; but only Ouzinkie and Port Lions had two active churches, with separate buildings and regular services.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

The frequency and type of social events varies between the communities. In all the villages, however, the school seemed to lead the way for formal, organized activities, especially where there was a gymnasium (Ivanof and Chignik Lagoon have no gym). In some villages the church provided a second focus for social events (especially in Old Harbor). The communities that reported the greatest variety and number of social activities were Chignik Bay and Larsen Bay. As noted, the steam bathing tradition was especially active in the Chigniks; it was a major social activity in Ivanof Bay (5 banyas among 12 Native households); Perryville (14 among 30 Native households) and Chignik Lake (14 among 30 Native households)

Political Organization

In trying to understand small communities, one of the most difficult and sensitive dimensions involves local ideas of the "public good" and "public goals." How these mesh (or conflict) with modern political processes that are externally introduced but locally managed adds to the complexity. The contrasts between villages are highlighted by unique collages of personnel, institutions, kinship, and values found in each village.

- Two villages, Karluk and Perryville, have an IRA council to the exclusion of any other form of local government. These two villages also appear to be the most conservative and least politically active.

Karluk is the focus of considerable political interest, but it seems to be an external, Koniag Inc. and agency-related concern. Perryville is led politically and economically by one man and, increasingly, one family. Karluk, too, is increasingly dominated by one family, as others move away, primarily to Larsen Bay. But in Karluk, the political authority appears diffused in three individuals: a tribal president who deals mostly with external affairs; a VPSO, who serves as a kind of "second chief" dealing with internal village affairs; and a third person--a woman who seems to manage local affairs through her position as health aide and village treasurer and as the quiet spokesperson for the largest family.

- Three villages, Ivanof Bay, Chignik Lake and Chignik Lagoon, have a single local governmental vehicle--the traditional village council.

Ivanof Bay is distinctive in its balance of both major families on the council, and the degree to which land claims issues are also village council issues. Chignik Lake, after many stable years, had recently shifted council leadership. Finally, Chignik Lagoon, stands out in the degree to which villagers are outspoken about preferring no government meddling either externally or locally.

- The remaining six villages (Chignik Bay and 5 Kodiak Island villages) have two major governing bodies: the city council and the tribal council. The relative importance and effectiveness in managing internal affairs and external agencies varies greatly, but in each of the six communities the tribal council seems weaker and less active than the city council.

For the Kodiak Island villages, the tribal council role is encouraged by the Kodiak Area Native Association (KANA), the non-profit regional corporation, which provides funds, jobs, training, and services. It appears the tribal councils are maintained primarily by federal dollars; in the Kodiak area during 1984-85 increased tensions were developing over the right and the capability of individual tribal councils to apply for and receive federal grants independent of KANA as the intermediary. The city councils, however, had the larger budgets as recipients of state funds and managers of the projects. In some cases, such as in Old Harbor, both councils may meet together; in other cases, the tribal council appears to be more token than vital to local developments - especially where the city council is active and organized, such as in Chignik Bay.

LAND ISSUES

- The single most significant land concern in 1984-85 was the sale of land in some communities: Chignik Bay, Chignik Lagoon, Larsen Bay, Port Lions, and Ouzinkie.

This development may have ramifications as extensive as the sale of labor and natural resources a century ago because it entails major rearrangement of human relationships, both within and beyond the village.

Land Claims

In five villages, (Ivanof Bay, Perryville, Larsen Bay, Old Harbor and Port Lions), leaders were met who had been active in land claims issues in the 1970s but who now have chosen to remove themselves from village and regional politics. The intensity and the demands of dealing with ANCSA was reflected in their declared "burnout" and in their choice to return to the villages and their families.

Confusion existed in the minds of some village residents between land claims and allotments; this was reflected a number of times when "native allotments" were referred to as the local version of "land claims." This may be an indicator of a particular time in land claims history when it appeared that individual native allotments would be the only land local villagers would own.

In early 1985 an analysis was made of the addresses of regional corporation shareholders. Their distribution is provided in Table 3. Only seven (.2%) Koniag shareholders have addresses in the Chignik subregion; 100 (16%) of Peninsula villages' shareholders have addresses in the Kodiak Island area: 97 in town of Kodiak and 3 in villages, further documenting the strong link from Chignik eastward.

Table 3.

LOCATIONS OF ANCSA SHAREHOLDERS
(Based on Address lists maintained by Regional Corporations)

Koniag, Inc. (Kodiak Island)
Number of Shareholders: 3310
Total available addresses: 3042
49% (1499) live on Kodiak Island
15% (465) live in 47 other Alaskan Communities
35% (1078) live in 44 other States

Bristol Bay Native Corporation
Total number of shareholders: 5222
Enrolled to Chignik subregion: 686 (13%)
Available Chignik subregion addresses: 637
39% (246) live in village enrolled to
8% (55) live elsewhere in BBNC region
35% (225) live elsewhere in Alaska
17% (111) live in other States

In early 1984, none of the study area villages were reported as active in the United Tribes of Alaska development which began in Anchorage in March, 1983. The Alaska Native Review Commission held hearings in Kodiak and in Larsen Bay in 1984, and in 1985 interest in tribal sovereignty issues was developing in some Kodiak villages (notably Old Harbor). Overall, a preference for control over local affairs was evident, but not in a militant manner. Interest in economic and political links beyond the village seemed especially developed in the Kodiak area, perhaps partly through the services of KANA. The Alaska Peninsula villages were more distant and less involved in regional and political affairs.

Economic Organization

Next, a few observations are drawn from the village narratives on selected economic topics.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

- Overall, there appears to be a locally perceived decrease in subsistence activities, with the possible exception of two social categories: the older Native residents and new non-Native residents.

The most vigorous participants in the harvest of local foods seemed to be White school teachers and other non-Native residents who recently moved and/or married into the villages, especially in Chignik Bay, Chignik Lake, Old Harbor and Port Lions. The non-Natives express their motives in terms of the adventure, novelty, and fun of the lifestyle. Data on 107 meals in 67 households was gathered during the course of the study. The proportions of subsistence to purchased food for the main course varied by village, but the overall ratio was 41:59; that is, 44 (41%) meals included a subsistence food and 63 (59%) did not.

The apparent decrease in harvesting on the part of some Native residents may be temporary, and probably is a function of several factors. The novelty of store-bought items in areas that previously had no stores, or until recently had stores with a limited inventory, may partly explain it; interest is high among local residents in the diverse items now available. Clearly in Port Lions, Larsen Bay, Ivanof Bay, and Chignik Lagoon the presence of new, relatively well-stocked stores provides incentive for local buying. Also, the level of affluence during the last 5 years (1980-1985) may have provided more cash for purchasing goods. Because the decrease may be temporary, the changes in local harvesting activities observed in this research need to be documented over time. Presently, goods are available in local stores, they are desirable, and there is cash to pay for them. For some villagers, subsistence foods may be associated with earlier poverty, and the boredom of having to eat the same foods much of the year. Also, some individuals simply do not like to hunt or fish. Their options have diversified and so have their choices of activities and foods.

STORES

- Stores are located within the vicinity (ten miles or less) of all the villages.

Six of the eleven villages have locally-owned stores: Ivanof Bay, Perryville, Chignik Bay, Akhiok, Karluk, and Old Harbor. Four have company stores, three of which are owned by Mark It Stores based in the town of Kodiak: Ouzinkie, Port Lions and Larsen Bay. Two have cannery-owned stores: Larsen Bay and Chignik Lagoon. At the time of this research (1984-85), Chignik Lake had the smallest amount of goods available for sale in their local store, but the residents had access to the large and well-stocked Chignik Lagoon cannery store just ten miles away. Karluk had the newest store, opened in March, 1985; it was the first store to operate there since the storm of 1978. Old

Harbor was the only village with two locally-owned stores. In terms of relative size and the variety of items available, the following is an approximate distribution of the stores from the smallest to the largest: Chignik Lake, Karluk, Akhiok, Perryville, Chignik Bay, Ivanof Bay, Old Harbor, Ouzinkie, Larsen Bay, Port Lions and Chignik Lagoon.

In addition to local purchases, some families, especially in the Kodiak area, shop "in town" and either charter a plane back to the village, or take the groceries as baggage on a regular seat fare. Ordering by telephone or mail and having the goods shipped by parcel post is another alternative, especially in the Chigniks. The parcel post rate varies from 29 cents a pound from Kodiak to Karluk, for example, to 60 cents a pound from Anchorage to Ivanof Bay. On the Alaska Peninsula, as means of transportation and frequency of service have increased, there seems to be a shift from ordering food and goods from Seattle to a greater dependence on Anchorage suppliers. Among the Kodiak Island villages, the shift has been away from ordering from Seattle or the nearest cannery, to making local purchases within the villages, supplemented with regular orders from the town of Kodiak. Only Port Lions, Ouzinkie and Chignik Bay receive regular barge service. The families with the highest incomes, and good credit, reported they bought from Kodiak city, Anchorage, and Seattle and paid the parcel post or freight rates; they enjoy the access to and novelty of a great range of goods. For them, local stores supplement the larger purchases made from the urban centers.

JOBS

- The Kodiak villages had more locally available jobs than the Peninsula villages.

- The greatest number of local jobs generated by the Native community is in Old Harbor which has two privately owned stores, a restaurant, and an oil distribution company. Port Lions has a lodge, restaurant, and two stores; these are owned or operated by non-Native residents. Port Lions has the largest number of city employees: 12.

Generally, the largest employer is the school. However, during special construction times, if several projects are underway, then the city may employ most of the available work force, as in Old Harbor during the erosion project in 1984, and the series of construction projects at Larsen Bay. Many programs, jobs and services are generated out of the Kodiak-based non-profit corporation, Kodiak Area Native Association (KANA). The Chignik area villages are less involved in their equivalent group: the Bristol Bay Native Association.

COSTS

- Major costs of living in the small villages of the study area are for food and fuel. (See Table 4.)

Table 4.

FUEL COSTS
Villages of the Study Area
Winter 1984-85

Village	Oil	Gasoline	Propane
Ivanof Bay	$85.25/barrel		$105/100 lb.
Perryville	79.75/" "	$1.50/gal.	
Chignik Lake	1.25/gal.	1.50 "	
Chignik Lagoon	1.25 "	1.28 "	69/ "
Chignik Bay	1.20 "	1.30 "	70/ "
Karluk	1.65 "	1.71 "	
Larsen Bay	1.20 "	1.15 "	50 "
Akhiok	$90/barrel	63.70/barrel	
Old Harbor	1.35/gal.		
Ouzinkie	1.22 "		
Port Lions	1.45 "	12.50/5 gals.	

FISHING

- Although all villages are involved to some extent in the fishing industry, the range is wide--from those minimally active to those most active.

The spectrum ranges from Karluk where one resident holds a limited entry fishing permit to Old Harbor where 29 winter residents have permits. Based on local counts during the winter of 1984-85, a total of 107 permit owners were living in the study area villages; their distribution by village is provided in Table 5.

For a complete analysis of commercial fishing in the region, including distribution of permits, fishing history, gross earnings, and participation in different fisheries, consult S. Langdon (Cultural Dynamics 1986).

Crews

- Three groups of crew membership were noted: 1) Local young men who crew each year for the full season; 2) Local older men who may crew for part of the season; 3) Outside residents who crew on local boats but do not live in the village year-around.

Table 5.

LIMITED ENTRY PURSE SEINE PERMIT HOLDERS
Living in Villages of the Study Area
Winter 1984-85

Village	Number of Winter Resident Permit Owners
Ivanof Bay	2
Perryville	7
Chignik Lake	11
Chignik Lagoon	12
Chignik Bay	7
Total	39
Karluk	1
Larsen Bay	6
Akhiok	2
Old Harbor	29
Ouzinkie	11
Port Lions	19
Total	68

The life cycle of crew members should be included in future studies. Our data from the Chignik area suggests that the height of performance and earnings of a Native crew member is during the late teens and through the 20s. After that, crewmen are sometimes replaced by younger men or Outsiders in the prime of health and strength.

The distinctions between permit holders and crew seem to be further marked by age differences: the captains often over 50 but the crew under 30. Only those who inherit permits are likely to be able to continue fishing throughout their working lives. This may leave a large, and growing population of unemployed men over the age 30.

CANNERIES

- The village-cannery relationship continues to change.

Fishermen used to be able to assume the canneries would grant them credit; it was an indicator of trust and patron-client ties. Now credit is generally extended only to permit and boat owners, and it is limited. Furthermore, fewer canneries are operating, and they are reportedly operating with less local labor. Some men and women who used to work in the canneries report they now hold other local jobs, or do not work at all.

OUTDOOR RECREATION

- Responses to outdoor recreation topics tended to be negative. Sportsmen intruding on local land and waters in pursuit of fish and game resources represented a new threat, perhaps replacing OCS concerns.

Interest in encouraging sportsmen and outdoor recreation facilities and services was extremely low, and usually negative, with three partial exceptions: in Port Lions, Akhiok, and Larsen Bay. Even in these communities the interest was generally limited to those individuals who were either already in the business of providing services to Outsiders, or with enough experience outside the village to know how to undertake such services. In some cases, guiding was an established family tradition.

OCS DEVELOPMENT

- Generally, villagers perceive the possibility of future OCS development in a positive light. Even permit owners who are successful fishermen with modern boats and gear reflected positive attitudes toward other industry development.

This finding may be related to the crash of the crab resource, an increased dependence on cash, the unpredictable nature of fishing, the increased costs of being a fisherman, and a decreased opportunity to engage in fishing as a lifetime livelihood. The positive attitudes also stem in part from local observation of state largess to the communities, with its associated jobs and buildings, (see Cultural Dynamics 1986) that is linked in local minds to oil and gas development.

The differentiation between state and federal leases, and the distribution of lease and bonus payments under each program, had generally not been made by residents in 1985. The Kodiak village population, however, was more aware of the term "OCS" than in 1979. Many of the individuals contacted indicated an openness and interest in OCS development, a point of view that six years ago was noted in some Kodiak Island villages (Davis 1979). In the Chigniks there was a certain amount of confusion between OCS and on-shore oil and gas development. On shore exploration had occurred in recent years.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

The following general observations about the eleven communities summarizes some additional information found during the winter of 1984-85:

- All villages had airstrips and regular air service.

- Two had small boat harbors: Port Lions and Old Harbor.

- Six had wharfs: Chignik Bay, Chignik Lagoon, Larsen Bay, Ouzinkie, Old Harbor, Port Lions.

- All Kodiak villages had HUD housing; none of the Chignik villages had HUD housing.

- All the Kodiak villages had VPSOs; on the Peninsula, only Chignik Bay had a VPSO position.

- Two communities had lodges for visitors: Karluk and Port Lions. Perryville had a three-room "motel" unit.

- Seven had community-wide electrical systems: Akhiok, Old Harbor, Ouzinkie, Port Lions, Larsen Bay, Chignik Bay and Perryville. Karluk and Ivanof Bay expected their new systems to be installed soon. Chignik Lagoon and Chignik Lake were discussing the options.

- There were more three wheelers (164) than households (131) in the Chignik area--and 30 trucks and cars. The Kodiak Island villages had more households (319) and fewer three wheelers (158) but more trucks and cars (115)--70 of them in Port Lions.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed some of the findings revealed through field research in the mid-1980s in 11 villages in the Kodiak-Shumagin area of the North Pacific.

The demographic analysis indicates the diversity between villages is great, in numbers, household arrangements, and age distributions. Job availability, church relationships, the origin of residents, subsistence participation, cash availability, and modern boats and permits combine to make the communities more complex, and increase the range of differences between them.

Yet underlying all the diversity is a presumed former ethnic link as Koniag peoples and a shared sequence of general historical developments. The introduction of commercial fishing and its subsequent fluctuations is a past experienced by all the villages. Yet these are unique communities, small, isolated, social units in the North Pacific, likely to maintain their special character regardless of what the future may bring in terms of opportunities in fisheries, oil and gas, external programs, cash or jobs.

The emphasis of this report has been the uniqueness of each community; the descriptive detail provides the baseline necessary for future comparative analysis both between communities and within each over time.

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APPENDIX A

VILLAGE POPULATION FIGURES

IVANOF BAY

TOTAL POPULATION: 51 DATE: November, 1984

	Non-Native		Native	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4			7	6
5 - 14			4	5
15 - 19			2	0
20 - 34			11	8
35 - 64	1		3	2
65+			2	
Total:	1		29	21

PERRYVILLE

TOTAL POPULATION: 129 DATE: May, 1985

	Non-Native		Native	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4			7	9
5 - 14	1		11	11
15 - 19		1	12	5
20 - 34	1	1	14	13
35 - 64	2	2	19	11
65+			3	4
n/a	1	1		
Total:	5	5	66	53

CHIGNIK LAKE

TOTAL POPULATION: 160 DATE: May, 1985

Age	Non-Native Male	Non-Native Female	Native Male	Native Female
0 - 4	0	0	10	4
5 - 14	1	1	18	18
15 - 19	0	0	9	7
20 - 34	0	1	17	17
35 - 64	3	4	19	16
65+			3	2
Total:	4	6	76	64

Note: This data is incomplete. No birthdates for 10 residents.

CHIGNIK LAGOON

TOTAL POPULATION: 74 DATE: May, 1985

	Non-Native		Native	
Age	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
0 - 4	3	3	3	1
5 - 14	6	3	2	2
15 - 19	0	0	1	3
20 - 34	2	7	11	5
35 - 64	3	4	6	6
65+	0	0	2	1
Total:	14	17	25	18

Note: This data is not based on exact birthdates, but on age estimates.

CHIGNIK BAY

TOTAL POPULATION: 91

DATE: May 7 - 8, 1985

	Non-Native		Native	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4		1	5	7
5 - 14			11	9
15 - 19			4	3
20 - 34	3	3	9	10
35 - 64	1	1	12	9
65+			2	1
Total:	4	5	43	39

KARLUK

TOTAL POPULATION: 91 DATE: February, 1985

	Non-Native		Native	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4		1	11	0
5 - 14		1	16	11
15 - 19			2	4
20 - 34	2	2	8	9
35 - 64	1	2	10	6
65+			2	3
Total:	3	6	49	33

LARSEN BAY

TOTAL POPULATION: 178 **DATE:** February 6-7, 1985

Age	Non-Native		Native	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4	0	3	10	10
5 - 14	9	1	15	25
15 - 19	2	0	6	10
20 - 34	4	5	15	17
35 - 64	6	6	22	10
65+	0	0	0	2
Total:	21	15	68	74

AKHIOK

TOTAL POPULATION: 102 DATE: March 24, 1985

Age	Non-Native Male	Non-Native Female	Native Male	Native Female
0 - 4	1	0	10	4
5 - 14	0	1	13	12
15 - 19	0	0	3	6
20 - 34	2	2	14	13
35 - 64	2	0	11	6
65+	0	0	1	1
Total:	5	3	52	42

OLD HARBOR

TOTAL POPULATION: 337 DATE: March, 1985

	Non-Native		Native	
Age	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
0 - 4	0	2	16	17
5 - 14	2	7	34	40
15 - 19	0	0	19	14
20 - 34	9	7	44	30
35 - 64	7	5	49	28
65+	1	0	3	3
Total:	19	21	165	132

Ouzinkie

TOTAL POPULATION: 165 DATE: January, 1986

Age	Non-Native Male	Non-Native Female	Native Male	Native Female
0 - 4	0	2	8	5
5 - 14	1	3	14	14
15 - 19	0	0	5	6
20 - 34	2	3	17	16
35 - 64	3	5	30	17
65+	1	0	7	6
Total:	7	13	81	64

Port Lions

TOTAL POPULATION: 243* DATE: January, 1986

Age	Non-Native Male	Non-Native Female	Native Male	Native Female
0 - 4	1	3	13	12
5 - 14	7	10	14	16
15 - 19	4	2	5	4
20 - 34	16	11	19	20
35 - 64	12	7	18	18
65+	0	0	8	3
Total:	40	33	77	73

* No age data on 20 Native residents

APPENDIX B

FIELD VISIT SCHEDULE

APPENDIX B

Field Visits

The circumstances of the visit to a community are identified in each individual village narrative. The following description provides the interested reader with details of the various trips.

Trip 1: The Chigniks, November 12-23, 1984

The first visit to the five villages on the Pacific side of the Alaska Peninsula was made between November 12 and 23, 1984. The weather was extremely variable, but at least some time in each community was possible. An average of two and a half days were spent in Chignik Bay, Chignik Lake, Ivanof Bay and Perryville. Only one day was spent at Chignik Lagoon where it was discovered that 19 of the 74 winter residents were gone. The various reasons for the absences included meetings, health and vacations. The movement of people in and out of the Chignik communities at different times of the year was thus highlighted, and the importance of the timing of field research illustrated. Finding out who was present in the village, as well as who was not, and for what reasons, gives important insight into the seasonality of village life and the relative affluence of the residents.

Some limits were placed on the data collection on the first trip because of the fact N. Davis had not been there before. The total time available to visit each community was limited, and the relative number of hours necessary for transit was greater than expected. The quality of the research was further shaped by the sequencing of the visits from one village to the next, that is from Chignik Bay to Perryville. The last village, Perryville, was the most conservative and the visit overlapped Thanksgiving. The ratio of discussions there was as a result fewer, but the additional perspective of a holiday was added.

The relative size of a community makes a difference in the level of total comprehension of issues. Size also has a bearing when it comes to selecting representatives who reflect the range of understanding of the issues. Two days in a village of 50 (Ivanof Bay) allows for a qualitatively deeper understanding than the same length of time in a larger village of 160 persons (like Chignik Lake). Knowing about factors like these that shaped the first trip, helped make decisions about the sequence and length of time for the second trip to the Chigniks.

Trip 2. Kodiak, Port Lions and Ouzinkie, December 10-20, 1984

The field researcher had planned to attend a conference of all the village Mayors. It took three attempts to reach Kodiak at this time of year. But the third flight from Anchorage did not fly over or turn back, and so the last few hours of the Mayor's Conference were attended. The mayor, or a representative from each of the six villages, was present, and this project was explained. Also since this was the first trip to Kodiak city, the KANA and Koniag offices were visited.

In the villages of Port Lions and Ouzinkie, 19 discussions, and a total of 41 people, were contacted. Included were 18 men and 23 women--both mayors, council members, tribal presidents, city clerk, health aide, store managers, school principals, business men and women, postmaster, harbormaster, permit holders, crew members, and KANA representatives.

A combination of bad weather and the holiday season made it necessary to postpone the anticipated trip to Karluk and Larsen Bay until February 1985.

Trip 3. Old Harbor, January 2-5, 1985

This trip, which was not scheduled in the original proposal, was taken primarily to attend meetings held in the village. N. Davis was invited to a KANA workshop on economic planning and tribal issues led by Russell Barsh. Following the workshop was a KANA board meeting, the first one held in a village. Representatives of the other five villages and Kodiak city were present for these discussions. The tensions, the dichotomy, and occasionally the irony of a search for sovereignty simultaneous with a search for more government grants was noted at these meetings. Local autonomy and adequate financing for local improvements are difficult to attain in concept and in fact. These ideals and aspirations were present at these meetings and the discussions lively.

In addition to the meetings, initial discussions were possible during this visit. Talks were held with the mayor, tribal president, health aide, postmistress, foreman of a city project, storekeeper, a widow and two fishermen. Since Old Harbor is the largest village of the study area, these contacts helped in the preparation for a return trip in March when the specific research topics of this project were more extensively addressed.

Trip 4. Larsen Bay and Karluk, February 3 - 9, 1985.

These two western Kodiak Island villages were finally reached, after the Holiday season and just prior to the beginning of Lent. A total of 16 focused discissions were held and many more persons contributed to the research. The family kinship charts were especially productive for understanding the dynamics of the relationships of these two communities. Greater detail is provided in the individual descriptions.

Trip 5. Old Harbor and Akhiok, March 22 - 29, 1985.

A major effort was devoted to working with research assistants in the gathering of current population and household census. This was especially difficult in Old Harbor, the largest of the study area villages. Somehow the complexities of trying to accomplish village field research were highlighted on this trip. There are so many meetings, visitors, and activities going on that it is a challenge to catch people coming and going. Here the visits intercepted departures to the important AFN convention in Anchorage, preparation for Easter, and the beginning of the herring season. The timing of visits may be more important, ultimately, than the total length of stay.

Trip 6. The Chigniks, May 1-10, 1985

Four of the five villages on the Pacific side of the Alaska Peninsula were revisited, and additional data was collected to supplement the information gathered in November, 1984. Sixteen more discussions were held, so the final data base for the Chigniks is 50 focused discussions. In all, a total of 50 discussions were held during the two Chignik village trips; 82 individuals were actively involved, while others often listened in. Of those active, 40 were men and 42 women. The participants included old and young, permit holders, crew members, housewives, store keepers, post office personnel, school teachers, village corporation officers, village presidents and vice presidents, city clerk, council members, health aides, church leaders, and a cannery superintendent.

The total number of limited entry fishing permit holders who were 1984-85 winter residents was determined to be 39; because of the importance of the rich Chignik fisheries, extra effort was made to contact them. Their distribution by community was Ivanof Bay 2, Perryville 7, Chignik Lake 11, Chignik Lagoon 12, and Chignik Bay 7.

On the second trip price lists from the stores were obtained; a spring census was taken; and further facts on the social structure, kinship networks, intervillage and interregional ties, boat crews, and economic links were gathered.

Perhaps the single most important fact established was the existence of a sixth community: Chignik Lagoon " on the cannery side". It is the summer village of most of the Chignik Lake residents and about one half of the Perryville residents. Chignik Lagoon "on the Flat Side" is a separate and distinct community. The social distance between the two communities, located two miles apart and separated by the Lagoon itself, appears to have increased within the last five years.

Almost three full days were spent at Chignik Lake. The first day was spent with seven students in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades, working with them on data they had collected about their village. By the end of the day we had a village count of 153 residents, 80 males and 73 females; a later recount raised the toal to 160. The families of the seven students totalled 46 persons, or 30% of the village. Although the youngsters worked hard, a few details remained to be gathered.

Supplemental information was added through 5 additional discussions, including discussions with the eldest woman in the village and with a former village president and secretary who provided a 1967 village census. Additional kinship charts were prepared. Chignik Lake has an unusually active school, a change in council leadership, 11 limited entry permits, and is growing at a more dramatic rate than the other four villages in the subregion.

On May 5, the Columbia Wards Fisheries facility on the "Cannery side" of Chignik Lagoon was visited for part of the day. The rest and all day May 6 was spent "on the Flat Side" where the local grantsperson for the council was hired to accomplish a detailed census. In working with her it became apparent that there are three distinct populations in this community: the year-around residents, the "summerbirds" who come only for 3 months, and other residents with permanent homes who reside there longer than the summer, but not the full winter (5-10 months). Five focused discussions were held, additional kinship work accomplished, and more detail on the new businesses gained. This is a highly mixed community with four major families, the descendants of Koniag, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Scottish and German immigrants, and several white families.

On May 7, boat transportation was obtained to Chignik Bay, where one full day was spent. Four focused discussions, including the mayor, the tribal president and a city council member were held and a research assistant hired to obtain an informal census of winter and summer residents. This village is a cannery town, recently incorporated as a second class city. They have an active council (102 meetings between September 1983 and May 1985), a city administrator, city clerk, and many on-going developments such as a water and sewer project, preparation for 15 HUD houses expected the summer of 1985, and surveying of land. The two local fish processing units were both expected to operate during the summer of 1985.

Perryville was visited on May 8-9. Here most effort was directed toward sharing the kinship charts prepared in November, adding information on permits, crews, summer residency, and completing the census. This village is the most conservative - and has the most active "steams" or steambaths (14 in a village of 119 Native residents). Most of the fishermen had left to retrieve their boats from Sand Point, and other fishermen arrived in the village the evening of May 9 enroute to herring fishing. May was clearly a month of transition here.

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APPENDIX C

DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS

DISTRIBUTION

NATIVE: NON-NATIVE

VILLAGE	TOTAL	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE
Ivanof Bay	51	50 (98%)	1 (2%)
Perryville	129	119 (92%)	10 (8%)
Chignik Lake	150*	140 (93%)	10 (7%)
Chignik Lagoon	74	43 (58%)	31 (42%)
Chignik Bay	91	82 (90%)	9 (10%)
	(495)	(434) (88%)	(61) (12%)
Karluk	91	82 (90%)	9 (10%)
Larsen Bay	178	142 (80%)	36 (20%)
Akhiok	102	94 (92%)	8 (8%)
Old Harbor	337	297 (88%)	40 (12%)
Ouzinkie	165	145 (88%)	20 (12%)
Port Lions	243	170 (70%)	73 (30%)
	(1116)	(930)(83%)	(186) (17%)
Total	1611	1364 (85%)	247 (15%)

*Data incomplete

HOUSEHOLDS

VILLAGE	TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	NATIVE *	NON-NATIVE
Ivanof Bay	13	12 (92%)	1 (8%)
Perryville	35	30 (86%)	5 (14%)
Chignik Lake	34	30 (88%)	4 (12%)
Chignik Lagoon	25	19 (76%)	6 (24%)
Chignik Bay	24	21 (88%)	3 (12%)
Subtotal	131	112 (85%)	19 (15%)
Karluk	23	20 (87%)	3 (13%)
Larsen Bay	46	40 (87%)	6 (13%)
Akhiok	26	24 (92%)	2 (8%)
Old Harbor	93	83 (89%)	10 (11%)
Ouzinkie	54	50 (93%)	4 (7%)
Port Lions	77	62 (81%)	15 (19%)
Subtotal	319	279 (87%)	40 (13%)
Region Total	450	391 (87%)	59 (13%)

* Includes mixed households

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

VILLAGE	No. of Households (Native)	Nuclear	Three-Generation
Ivanof Bay	12	6 (55%)	1 (9%)
Perryville	30	18 (60%)	3 (10%)
Chignik Lake	30	19 (63%)	3 (10%)
Chignik Lagoon	25*	9 (36%)	3 (12%)
Chignik Bay	21	13 (62%)	3 (14%)
Total	118	65 (55%)	13 (11%)
Karluk	20	10 (50%)	4 (20%)
Larsen Bay	40	18 (45%)	6 (15%)
Akhiok	24	14 (58%)	3 (13%)
Old Harbor	83	29 (35%)	7 (8%)
Ouzinkie	50	19 (38%)	2 (4%)
Port Lions	62	35 (56%)	1 (2%)
Total	279	125 (45%)	23 (8%)

* Both Native and NonNative

SINGLE NATIVE ADULTS

KODIAK VILLAGES

VILLAGE	Total Native Adults	Total Native Adult Males	Single	Total Native Adult Females	Single
Karluk	38	20	10 (50%)	18	9 (50%)
Larsen Bay	66	37	22 (59%)	29	8 (28%)
Akhiok	46	26	11 (42%)	20	4 (20%)
Old Harbor	157	96	53 (55%)	61	18 (30%)
Ouzinkie	93	54	29 (54%)	39	16 (41%)
Port Lions	86	45	15 (33%)	41	6 (15%)
Total	486	278	140 (50%)	208	61 (29%)

NATIVE - NON-NATIVE MARRIAGES

VILLAGE	Number of Mixed Marriages	Non-Native Male	Non-Native Female
Ivanof Bay	0	0	0
Perryville	0	0	0
Chignik Lake	2	1	1
Chignik Lagoon	6	1	5
Chignik Bay	5	3	2
Karluk	2	1	1
Larsen Bay	8	5	3
Akhiok	2	2	
Old Harbor	8	6	2
Ouzinkie	6	2	4
Port Lions	17	11	6
Total:	56	32 (57%)	24 (43%)

AGE DISTRIBUTIONS

Under and Over 20 Years

VILLAGE	Total		Native		Non-Native	
	0 - 19	20+	0 - 19	20+	0 - 19	20+
Ivanof Bay	24 (47%)	27 (53%)	24 (48%)	26 (52%)	0	1
Perryville	57 (44%)	72 (56%)	55 (46%)	64 (54%)	2	8
Chignik Lake	68 (45%)	82 (55%)	66 (47%)	74 (53%)	2	8
Chignik Lagoon	27 (36%)	47 (64%)	12 (28%)	31 (72%)	15	16
Chignik Bay	40 (44%)	51 (56%)	39 (48%)	43 (52%)	1	8
Karluk	46 (51%)	45 (49%)	44 (54%)	38 (46%)	2	7
Larsen Bay	91 (51%)	87 (49%)	76 (54%)	66 (46%)	15	21
Akhiok	50 (49%)	52 (51%)	48 (51%)	46 (49%)	2	6
Old Harbor	151 (45%)	186 (55%)	140 (47%)	157(53%)	11	29
Ouzinkie	58 (35%)	107 (65%)	52 (36%)	93 (64%)	6	14
Port Lions	91 (41%)	132 (59%)	64 (43%)	86 (57%)	27	46
Total:	703 (44%)	888 (56%)	620 (46%)	724 (54%)	83 (34%	164 (66%)

VEHICLES

VILLAGE	Pop.	Three-Wheelers	Trucks/cars	Airplanes	Skiffs
Ivanof Bay	51	13	0	1	n/a
Perryville	129	48	7	2	n/a
Chignik Lake	160	39	1	8	54
Chignik Lagoon	74	31	13	2	28
Chignik Bay	91	33	9	0	14
Total:	505	164	30	13	
Karluk	91	5	1	0	4
Larsen Bay	178	27	20	3	21
Akhiok	102	10	2	0	17
Old Harbor	337	33	16	0	n/a
Ouzinkie	165	30	6	0	26
Port Lions	223	53	70	0	25
Total:	1096	158	115	3	

Vital Statistics

BIRTHS

VILLAGE	1970	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	Total
Ivanof Bay	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	2	0	1	2	2	2	4	2	20
Perryville	3	1	5	1	4	6	1	1	1	6	1	2	6	5	4	47
Chignik Lake	1	2	1	0	3	2	4	0	2	2	7	2	2	4	5	37
Chignik Lagoon	0	1	1	2	4	3	1	3	0	5	2	2	1	2	0	27
Chignik Bay	2	1	2	1	0	0	3	2	1	3	4	2	8	3	4	36
Total	6	6	9	4	12	11	12	8	4	17	16	10	19	18	15	167
Karluk	5	5	2	1	3	1	3	5	3	4	2	0	1	4	3	42
Larsen Bay	3	5	1	1	1	3	2	3	3	8	1	6	4	5	5	51
Akhiok	3	5	2	2	0	3	4	2	3	3	4	7	3	3	2	46
Old Harbor	8	5	12	5	7	11	5	8	9	15	7	12	9	17	11	141
Ouzinkie	5	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	5	2	5	4	3	5	4	59
Port Lions	3	5	6	3	1	7	5	6	5	5	5	8	2	14	5	80
Total	27	28	27	16	15	29	23	28	28	37	24	37	22	48	30	419

Source: State of Alaska, Vital Statistics

Vital Statistics

DEATHS

VILLAGE	1970	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	Total
Ivanof Bay			1													1
Perryville			1		3	2							2	5		13
Chignik Lake		1						1								2
Chignik Lagoon	1		1		1								1			4
Chignik Bay	1	1				1					1					4
Total	2	2	3	0	4	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	5		24
Karluk		3	1		2	1	4	1	1		2		1	1		17
Larsen Bay	3	1					2	2	3	1	1	4	4	2	1	24
Akhiok	1	1				1	1	1	2			1	1			9
Old Harbor	1		3	1	4	4	3	4	2	6	5	8	3	2	2	48
Ouzinkie			2		1	3	3		2		1				1	13
Port Lions	3	3	1	7	2	2		1	2	1	2	2	3		2	31
Total	8	8	7	8	9	11	13	9	12	8	11	15	12	5	6	142

Source: State of Alaska, Vital Statistics